DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 373 393 EA 025 988

AUTHOR	Dwyer David C.; And Others
TITLE	Understanding the Principal's Contribution to Instruction: Seven Principals, Seven Stories. Case #1: Emma Winston, Principal of an Inner-City Elementary School.
INSTITUTION	Far West Lab. for Educational Research and Development, San Francisco, CA. Instructional Management Program.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE	Nov 85
CONTRACT	400-83-0003
NOTE	124p.; Prepared under the "Instructional Management Program". For Volume 1, ("Methodology") and the other case studies, see EA 025 987-994.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrator Role; *Behavior Patterns; Case Studies; *Communication (Thought Transfer); Disadvantaged Youth; Educational Environment; Elementary Education; Ethnography; *Instructional Leadership; Interpersonal Competence; Leadership Qualities; Lifelong Learning; *Principals; Qualitative Research; Racial Relations; *Urban Schools; Work Environment
IDENTIFIERS	*California (San Francisco Bay Area)

ABSTRACT

This case study presents findings from a year-long ethnographic study of an innercity elementary school principal. It concludes one of seven studies conducted in elementary and intermediate schools in urban, suburban, and rural settings to investigate the instructional management role of principals. Although previous research offers disparate viewpoints about the potency of principals as instructional leaders and managers, this series finds that principals can significantly alter their schools' instructional systems and students' social and academic experiences. Using observations of principals' activities and interviews with students and staff, the seemingly chaotic behavior of principals may be construed as purposive. Activities comprise nine categories (goal setting and planning; monitoring; evaluating; communicating; scheduling, allocating resources, and organizing; staffing; modeling; governing; and filling in). The nine purposes or targets behind principals' activities include work structure, staff relations, student relations, safety and order, plant and equipment, community relations, institutional relations, and institutional ethos. Principal Emma Winston's routine behaviors were predominantly acts of communication; a substantial number of her activities also involved monitoring, governing, and scheduling, allocating resources, and organizing. Winston's primary targets were work structure, safety and order, and student relations. Winston struggled to downplay ethnic and racial differences, emphasize students' common core of humanity, and provide students with a well-rounded education. (Contains 64 references.) (MLH)

EA

Instructional Management Program

ED 373 393

Understanding the Principal's Contribution to Instruction: Seven Principals, Seven Stories

Case #1: Emma Winston, Principal of an Inner-City Elementary School

David C. Dwyer
Ginny V. Lee
Bruce G. Barnett
Nikola N. Filby
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EA025 988

November 1985

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UNDERSTANDING THE PRINCIPAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO INSTRUCTION:
SEVEN PRINCIPALS, SEVEN STORIES

Case #1:
Emma Winston,
Principal of an Inner-City Elementary School

David C. Dwyer
Ginny V. Lee
Bruce G. Barnett
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This report was supported by a contract from the National Institute of Education, Department of Education, under Contract No. 400-83-0003. The contents of this report do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of Education or the National Institute of Education.

ABSTRACT

This case study presents the findings from a yearlong, ethnographic study of a principal of an elementary school in an inner-city setting. It concludes one of a series of studies in elementary and intermediate schools in urban, suburban, and rural settings undertaken to investigate the instructional management role of principals.

Although previous research offers disparate views about the potency of principals as instructional leaders and managers, this series of studies has found that principals can significantly alter the instructional systems of their schools and thereby the social and academic experiences of students.

Through hundreds of hours of observation of principals' activities and through interviews with students, teachers, and principals about the antecedents and consequences of principals' activities, we have construed principals' seemingly chaotic behavior as purposive action. Patterns emerge in the analysis of principals' routine actions that reveal their importance for the creation and maintenance of instructional climates and organizations that are responsive to an array of contextual factors.

FOREWORD

> In the past decade public educators have had to learn how to cope with three kinds of scarcity: pupils, money, and public confidence. Of the three shortages perhaps the most unsettling has been the decline in confidence in a profession that for so long had millennial aspirations of service to the nation. (Tyack & Hansot, 1984, p. 33)

Those of us who care about and watch our schools cannot help but notice that the buildings and the students have changed. We need only listen to the experiences that our children report nightly around the dinner table in order to conclude, not always happily, that things are different today. The media report violence in the schools, poor student achievement, and disappointing facts about the preparation and performance of teachers. And recently, a panel of educational leaders, appointed in 1981 by Secretary of Education Bell, concluded that our schools have deteriorated to such an extent that "our nation is at risk" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

Into this troubled arena--into its very center--the school principal has been thrust by those who have studied "effective" schools (e.g., Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Venezky & Winfield, 1979; Weber, 1971; Wynne, 1981). These researchers have successfully resurrected an old maxim: effective principal, effective school. Some proponents of this work have been very explicit about their faith in the capacity of the school principal. One supporter has asserted that:

> One of the most tangible and indispensable characteristics of effective schools is strong administrative leadership, without which the disparate elements of good schooling can neither be brought together nor kept together. (Edmonds, 1979, p. 32)

Thus, school principals find themselves in the spotlight, expected to shoulder successfully the awesome responsibility of school reform.

Is this a fair expectation? While the effective-school researchers have stressed the importance of the principal in the process of school improvement, other investigators have argued that the work of principals is varied, fragmented, and little concerned with the improvement of instruction (Peterson, 1978; Pitner, 1982; Sproull, 1979). Similarly, our own reviews of the effective-schools research have recommended caution about its conclusions (Bossert, Dwyer, Rowan, & Lee, 1982; Rowan, Bossert, & Dwyer, 1983). And at the very time that these scholars are proclaiming the potency of the principal as an instructional leader, principals themselves report decreases in their power and autonomy as school leaders. School administrators claim to make fewer decisions regarding instruction at the building level and they express feelings of isolation (Goldhammer, 1971). And as the theoretical debate continues, principals are being held accountable for students' academic performance and achievement scores. In some instances, parent groups are demanding the removal of principals who lead schools where children perform below expectations on standardized achievement tests.

The Instructional Management Program of the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development was created to examine critically the role of the principal in the development and execution of successful instructional programs. We began our work by questioning the common assertions of the effective-schools research. For example, as a basic query, we asked: If successful principals are those who create schools where the climate is safe and orderly, where basic skills are emphasized, where teachers hold high expectations for their students, and where instructional programs are tied closely to carefully monitored objectives, what do principals do to institute and maintain those conditions?

We began our effort to address this question with a careful review of an array of educational and organizational literatures. Subsequently, we suggested a theoretical model that related individual and contextual variables to the behavior of principals, and we speculated about how those behaviors might influence the instructional organization and social climate of a school and, in turn, affect student outcomes (see Bossert et al., 1982).

Guided by our theoretical conception, we then spoke with 32 principals from the San Francisco Bay Area about their work. These long, open-ended interviews produced a wealth of information about the principals' own perceptions of how their behavior as instructional leaders or managers was influenced by their communities, districts, and personal histories. These men and women described their schools' climates and instructional organizations and discussed their efforts to shape the form and the content of instruction and to color the ambience of their schools. From these preliminary forays into the worlds of school administrators, we received a very strong impression: Principals work under diverse conditions and pressures, and they pursue solutions that affect instruction and student achievement in many different ways.

For us, the public's demand for the improvement of schools and instruction, the ongoing argument about the principal's role, and the promise we saw in the principals' own views about their activities merited an intensive effort to work with principals in their schools. As collaborators, we wanted to gain a realistic understanding of their role and of the limits of their responsibility in attaining more effective schools.

Probing the Workaday World of Principals

As a first step in achieving such an understanding, we invited five of the 32 principals whom we had interviewed to join us in an eight-week pilot study. Our purpose was to observe principals in action, validating their spoken stories on the one hand and gaining direct knowledge of their activities on the other. The five principals represented Blacks and Whites of both sexes from schools with diverse student populations, differing socioeconomic contexts, and varied approaches to instructional management. As we studied these principals, we were able to field-test our primary data-gathering procedures--the shadow and the reflective interview--which were to allow us access to the personal meanings that principals attached to their actions (the design and results of this pilot study are fully discussed in Five Principals in Action: Perspectives on Instructional Management, Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983). Our intent during this phase of our program's work was to listen to how principals described both their role in instruction and the conditions and events shaping that role.

After the pilot phase, we contacted 12 more principals, this time selected from urban, suburban, and rural schools, to help us extend our understanding of instructional leadership and management through a yearlong study of their activities. These individuals had all been nominated as successful principals by their superiors. They varied by gender, age, ethnicity, and experience. Their schools ran the gamut from rural to urban, small to large, poor to rich, traditional to innovative. For hundreds of hours we watched the activities of these principals, looking for the consequences of their actions for teachers and students throughout their schools. (See the companion volume, Methodology, for a thorough treatment of participant selection, data-gathering procedures, and analysis of data).

A Potent Role in Instructional Management

As we watched our experienced principals perform their daily activities, we also witnessed the uncertain environments with which they coped. We saw that the decreases in the number of students, financial resources, and public confidence to which Tyack and Hansot refer did have an effect on schools. In addition, we documented demographic shifts that moved students in and out of schools at alarming rates; court actions that had administrators, board members, and teachers looking over their shoulders; and a changing political climate that affected the very conception of what schooling might be. All of these were significant factors in the schools in which we worked. The reality is that educators work in shifting environments that are difficult to predict. Further, there is no reason to believe that the conditions contributing to this uncertainty will disappear.

Against this backdrop, the importance of the principal's role and the limitations principals face became apparent. Figure 1 (see page v) illustrates the principal's key position, bridging context and school, policy and program, means and ends. The principal's importance emerges from that position. He or she has the greatest access to the wishes and needs of district leaders, parents and community members, school staff, and students. With experience and training, he or she has the best opportunity to formulate an image of schooling that is relevant and responsive to those groups and to begin to bring that image into being. We believe that this is exactly what our principals were about: Through routine activities they attempted to bring to life their overarching visions, while at the same time monitoring their systems to keep these visions relevant.

Our principals demonstrated their abilities to tap the wishes and resources of their communities and districts. We observed their capacities to be sensitive to the needs of their students and staffs. But what we found most impressive was their ability to create and sustain an image of what quality schooling might be. Through all of the uncertainty and conflict that characterized their environments, these principals worked to instill their visions in their staffs and patrons, defining a mission in which all might participate. We believe that this may be their most potent role.

Seven Principals, Seven Stories

From our yearlong study of the activities of principals in their schools, we have prepared seven case studies. Each study portrays how the principal is influenced by his or her context. Each study also describes how the principal set about improving or maintaining the instructional program in his or her school. Together, the studies demonstrate the complexities and subtleties of the principal's role. This series contains the stories of:

1. Emma Winston, Principal of an Inner-City Elementary School;

2. Frances Hedges, Principal of an Urban Elementary School;

3. Ray Murdock, Principal of a Rural Elementary School;

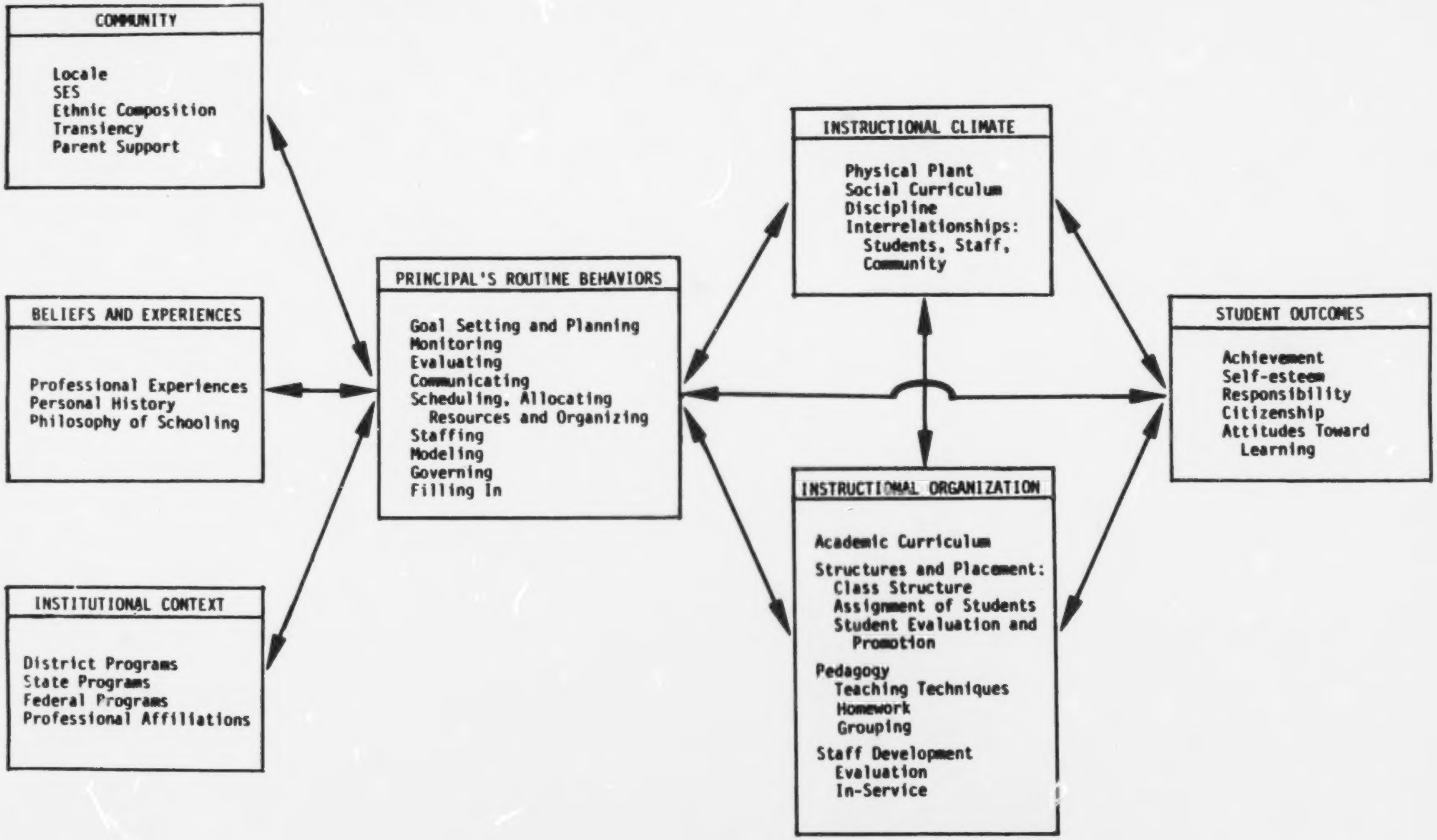

Figure 1: The Principal's Role in Instructional Management

Principals can understand and influence the varied elements of their organizations through the performance of routine activities. Their success hinges on their ability to connect their actions to an overarching perspective of their school settings and their aspirations for students.

4. Grace Lancaster, Principal of an Urban Junior High School;

5. Jonathan Rolf, Principal of a Suburban Elementary School;

6. Florence Barnhart, Principal of an Inner-City Junior High School;

7. Louis Wilkens, Principal of a Suburban Elementary School.

These principals were chosen because of their outstanding reputations and their willingness and their staffs' willingness to work for a year under the close scrutiny of our field workers. We were able to learn about instructional leadership and management from each of them, although their contributions to instruction differed markedly. Some were directly involved with setting the conditions of instruction--that is, working with their staffs to define and coordinate the what, when, where, and how of instruction. The contributions of others were more circuitous or behind the scenes. From those principals, we were able to understand better how some principals can set the conditions for instruction, providing school environments that are supportive of teachers' work and students' learning.

It is important to note, however, that none of these principals is a superhero. Each man and woman made significant contributions in the context of his or her own school, but each carried the foibles and idiosyncrasies that in some form burden us all. Each struggled with the day-to-day realities of his or her own limitations--personal and contextual. The stories will elicit strong feelings within their readers about the relative merit of these principals' actions. Readers will compare one principal to another and, more importantly, to themselves. And therein lies the relevance of these studies.

These cases are not presented as models for others to emulate; on the contrary, they are intended to stimulate personal reflection and to illustrate several lessons that we learned from the hundreds of hours we spent with these men and women and from our own comparisons of their work:

1. **Successful principals act with purpose.** They have an image in mind of the "good" school and of a way to make their school more like that image. They use this overarching perspective as a guide for their actions.

2. **Successful principals have a multi-faceted image of schools.** They recognize that schools comprise many interrelated social and technical elements--from community concerns and district mandates to student/staff relations and instructional strategies. Successful principals stand at the vortex of these

sometimes competing elements, balancing and guiding their organizations toward their goals.

3. **Successful principals use routine behaviors to progress incrementally toward their goals.** Principals are busy people doing many things simultaneously. They design their routines to achieve their purposes. They work smarter, not harder.

4. **The IMP Framework, as it has evolved through the field work, illustrates these conclusions about successful principals.** This framework, shown in Figure 1, provides a useful heuristic device to help people understand the role of the principal.

5. **All principals engage in the same kinds of behavior.** The verbs listed in the "routine behaviors" box of Figure 1 were common to all the principals studied. Furthermore, these routine behaviors were used with similar frequency. Communication accounted for the largest proportion of each principal's actions.

6. **The form and function of principals' routine behaviors varies to suit their contexts and purposes.** Despite the similarity in the categories and frequency of principals' routine behaviors, the variation in their actions becomes apparent when principals are observed at work in their schools. The case studies illustrate this principle in detail, leading to the premise that there is no single image or simple formula for successful instructional leadership.

We believe that researchers, practicing principals, and educators planning futures in school administration will find these volumes provocative.

Although the cases portray seven unique stories, we have chosen to structure them along parallel lines to encourage readers to compare and contrast contextual antecedents, principals' actions, and consequences across them. Each will begin with an orientation to the setting, which describes the school, community, patrons, school staff, and principal. The introduction concludes with a narrative of a day in the life of the principal, enlivening the descriptive information about the school by illustrating how the principal deals with typical situations in his/her setting.

The second section of each study begins by delineating the social and academic goals held by the principal and staff in the school, then describes the elements of the instructional climate and instructional organization that have been created to accomplish those goals. Throughout this section, the role of the principal is underscored by the words of teachers and students from the setting, by the principal's own words, and by the observations of the field researcher assigned to the school.

The final section of each study analyzes the principal's activities, drawing information from the descriptive sections to build and support models that explain the direct and indirect strategies and actions employed by the principals to affect instruction in their schools.

One last note: We are aware of the long-standing debate about whether principals are best described as middle-level managers, coordinating people, materials, and time to meet their institutions' goals, or whether principals are best construed as leaders, wearing the lenses of their own experiences and values, sharing their visions of means and ends, and enlisting support to accomplish their goals. From our experiences with principals, we do not feel that the leader/manager distinction helps us better understand their work. We saw our principals act sometimes like leaders, sometimes like managers; many times, however, we could attribute either role to their actions. Reflecting the overlapping nature of these role distinctions in the day-to-day actions of principals, we use the words interchangeably throughout these studies.

Acknowledgements

There is a multitude of people to thank for their contributions to this extensive study. The principals, staffs, and students who freely gave their energy, graciously tolerated our presence, and patiently answered our questions over the period of a school year are first and foremost on this list. Our agreement to protect their anonymity, however, prevents us from listing these important contributors by name (all proper names used in the case studies are fictional). It is self-evident that the project would not have been possible without their goodwill and their sense of responsibility to our efforts.

Next, 11 research interns in three states spent over 1,500 hours in these schools. They trained and prepared for each phase of data-gathering, relentlessly applied each procedure, and performed the necessary and painstaking documentation procedures after each of their school visits and observations. All of the interns were graduate students who had to weave our program's research activities into their already crowded personal agendas. Alphabetically, they were: Bracha Rubinek Alpert, Steven Foster, Susan Goodwin, Albert Kuipers, Patricia Kunke, Maralee Mayberry, Barbara McEvoy, Gail Mladejovesky, Susana Munzell, Sherri Schulke, and John Wilson. The twelfth field researcher was Ginny Lee, a research associate of the Instructional Management Program, who wore multiple hats throughout the project, including site coordinator, writer/editor, and planning and training assistant.

An extremely competent secretarial staff, which included Sharon Hansen, Peter Grace, Ann Wallgren, Carrie Kojimoto, and Claudia Long, monitored and filed data, made sure that interns kept up with the necessary bureaucratic work, and transcribed--

painfully--a seemingly endless stream of interviews. The program would have floundered early on without their consistent support.

As the project's field phase was completed, several staff members took on new roles and additional staff joined the program to assist with the development of the computerized data base, analysis, writing, and/or final document preparation. Christine Baker, Jean Barker, Carrie Kojimoto, Claudia Long, Jeannie Lum, Barbara McEvoy, and Patricia Terry read and re-read hundreds of pages of data, assisted in the development of our tagging scheme, and entered text data into the computer system implemented by Patricia Terry. Bracha Rubinek Alpert, Jean Barker, Carrie Kojimoto, Claudia Long, Jeannie Lum, Barbara McEvoy, and Patricia Terry made invaluable contributions in the preliminary phases of the writing of the case studies. In the last critical phase, Jean Barker and Kenneth Warren wrote final copy and oversaw production of the eight-volume set.

My colleagues, Bruce Barnett, Steven Bossert, Nikola Filby, Ginny Lee, and Brian Rowan each contributed their expertise to the design and implementation of these studies. They, in conjunction with Carrie Kojimoto, assumed major analytical and writing tasks as our ambitions to fully utilize the rich data set grew and grew.

Lastly, the National Institute of Education funded this study during an era of tight resources, supported the program's efforts throughout, and helped create the visibility and professional networks that will ensure the use of this project's findings. Michael Cohen and Marianne Amarel were the project's monitors, and we especially thank them for understanding the utility of this kind of in-depth study and for supporting the project during every phase of its development.

David C. Dwyer
Project Director

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SETTING AND ITS ACTORS

An Overview

The first section of this study attempts to give the reader a general impression of Roosevelt Elementary School and its context. We believe that this narrative introduction is necessary if the reader is to understand fully the description and analysis of the instructional system presented in the subsequent sections of the study. The introduction itself begins with an account of the physical aspects of the school and the surrounding community. This account is followed by a description of the school's parents and students. Next, the general characteristics of the school's teachers are delineated. The focus then turns to the school's principal, telling in brief her history, her educational philosophy, and her thoughts about the role of a principal. Having shaded in these broader contours, we subsequently take the reader through a day in the life of the principal, recounting in as much detail as possible what she encountered during a typical day at school.

The School and Its Context

Nestled a few feet below street level, Roosevelt Elementary School led first-time visitors to think they were approaching a compact, single-story structure. In reality, however, the school was a sprawling, split-level building of three wings, bordered by a sloping playground. Roosevelt served approximately 1,000 students and was one of the largest elementary schools in the Hawthorne School District. Together, the building and playground occupied an entire block of this industrial city.

Separating the school from the four-lane avenue that passed in front of it was an apron of low shrubs and dusty vines. The surrounding area included single-family homes, duplexes, triplexes, churches, and a smattering of commercial establishments. The houses nearest the school were modest wood and stucco dwellings, crowded on small lots along the street. Some of the homes were in various states of disrepair, but others were in good condition and had small gardens. The neighborhood was working class, and most of the families were either Black or Hispanic. A growing number of Asian families, primarily refugees from Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, lived in nearby apartment buildings (SO, 9/7/82, p. 1).*

The school building had been expanded considerably since its construction around 1960. By the early 1980s, Roosevelt had 34 classrooms and various supplementary spaces for instructional and noninstructional activities. Most of these supplementary areas were located in the south wing of the building, which contained the cafeteria, auditorium, faculty dining room, music room, and an area called the "Community Room." The Community Room was used by members of the Parent/Teacher Association for meetings and volunteer activities. Toward the end of the 1982-83 school year, an English as a Second Language (ESL) class was held in this room. Interspersed among the classrooms were other supplementary spaces: the school library, nurse's office, audiovisual clinic, and reading and math resource room.

Roosevelt had both self-contained and open-space classrooms. The self-contained classrooms for grades 3-6 were located in the north and west wings of the building and had many windows to admit plenty of sunlight. At the east end of the north corridor, double doors led to the open-space classrooms for grades 2-4. Below was an identical area for the kindergarten, the preschool, and the bilingual education program. These classroom spaces were furnished with pastel colored chairs and tables. A variety of storybook scenes decorated the walls (SO, 9/7/82, pp. 3-4).

Teachers alternately praised and complained about the open-space classrooms. On the positive side, they felt that the openness allowed parents easy access to the children and teachers and that the lack of walls provided teachers with a great opportunity to become acquainted with children from other classes. Teachers also felt that the arrangement facilitated the sharing of materials and information (I, 5/2/83, p. 2). On the other hand, these classroom spaces were noisy, lacked privacy, and limited in-class activities to those that would not distract neighboring classes (TI, 4/21/83, p. 4; I, 5/2/83, p. 2). To alleviate some of these problems, teachers kept the collapsible partitions between adjacent groups permanently extended. They separated the instructional areas from the central traffic corridor by using low, freestanding partitions, cabinets, and tables.

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*Throughout these sections, the reader will encounter parenthetic notations describing the type of data cited, the date of collection, and the page number of the record from which the quotation was taken. The abbreviations used to identify the data types are: FN for field notes; SO for summary observations; TI for tape-recorded interviews; I for interviews that were not transcribed verbatim; IOI for Instructional Organization Instrument; SDI for School Description Instrument; SFI for School Features Inventory; and Doc. for documents that were produced within the broad instructional system in which each school was embedded. (For further explanation of these varied data, see the companion volume, Methodology.) For example, a quotation taken from an interview on October 8, 1982 would be followed by: (TI, 10/8/82, p. 34).

Roosevelt's playgrounds sloped down and away from the building. In one area, an asphalt surface was painted with markers and numbers for various games. Elsewhere, a small area had been enclosed for the youngest children. This "tot lot" was covered with sand and contained swings and a jungle gym (FN, 10/19/82, p. 2). Beyond these playgrounds was a grassy field for games such as soccer and "Simon Says." During recesses, Roosevelt's principal, Emma Winston, patrolled the school yard using a bullhorn to send her voice over the distance to misbehaving students. In fact, the size of Roosevelt and a spectrum of economic and ethnic differences required that Winston use a variety of methods to "cover great distances" in managing one of the Hawthorne District's largest elementary schools.

Roosevelt's Students and Parents

Most of the 1,000 students attending Roosevelt Elementary School belonged to minority groups. Black students accounted for almost half (49.6%) of the student population; Spanish-surnamed students made up another large portion (38.9%). The remainder of the student population included 9.4% Asians, 1.3% Whites, and 0.8% other ethnic groups (see Figure 2 below).

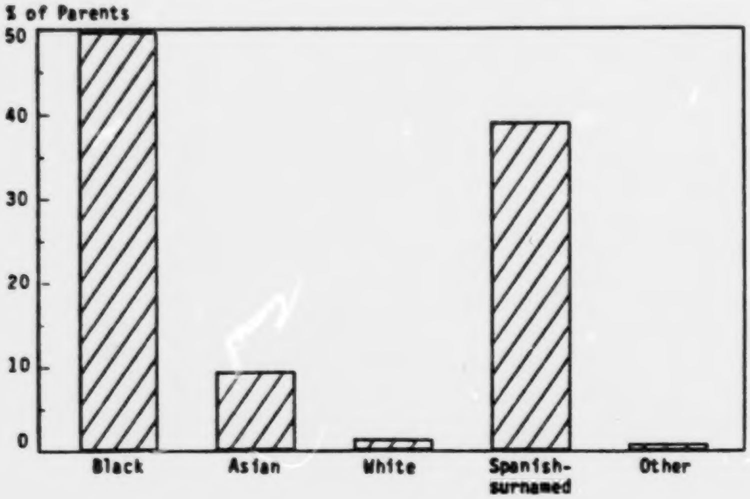

Figure 2: Student Ethnicity at Roosevelt

The principal reported that the composition of the Asian group had changed recently. Roosevelt's Asian population was once mostly Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino, but recent immigration had brought Laotian, Cambodian, and Vietnamese families to the school. Typically, parents and children in these families were non-English speaking. In fact, more than a third (38%) of Roosevelt's students were classified as non-English speaking or limited-English speaking. The principal had found it difficult to obtain bilingual assistance from the district to aid in working with these students and their families (TI, 9/7/82, p. 13).

Roosevelt's neighborhood was a low-income area. About 36% of the school's families received public assistance (AFDC). Forty-five percent of the students' parents were employed in skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled occupations. Only 3% qualified as semiprofessionals; none was listed as professionally employed. The occupational status of the remaining 52% was unknown, and this group presumably included some parents who were unemployed (see Figure 3 below and SDI, 1982, p. 2).

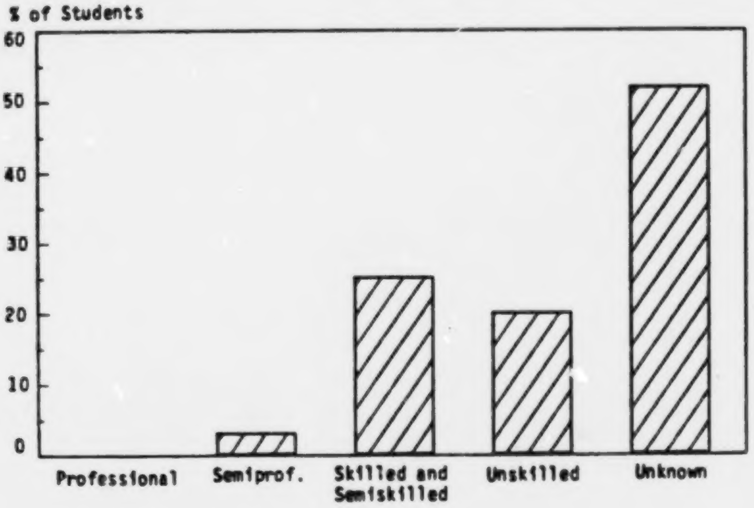

Figure 3: Employment Skill Level of Roosevelt's Parents

Test scores in basic skills were consistently low at Roosevelt. In May 1982, 63% of the school's students scored below the second quartile (Q2) in reading on the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). On the math portion of the CTBS, 56% of the students scored below Q2. These figures were similar to student test scores for the previous two years.

Roosevelt's teachers believed that a high rate of student transiency at the school contributed to the low test scores (TI, 9/7/82, p. 8; DD*). For example, in 1981, 30% of the sixth-grade students had been at Roosevelt for only one year, and 24% of the third-grade students had enrolled for the first time that same year. The principal reported as many as 30 students leaving and another 30 enrolling each month (TI, 9/7/82, p. 8). Near the end of the school year, the assistant principal estimated that 200 to 300 students had left or enrolled in school during the year. He added that sometimes students leaving Roosevelt often reenrolled at a later time: "I can pull files on several kids who, in the last three years, have been back and forth between three, four, or five schools [as many as] seven, eight, or nine times" (DD).

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*DD denotes data obtained from dissertation research conducted during June and July of 1983 by fieldworker Susana Munzell.

Aside from transiency, Roosevelt's students were faced with other difficulties affecting their performance in school. The assistant principal said that the physical condition of most of the students was below average because of poor nutrition, lack of exercise, and lack of rest. He added that about 20% of these youngsters had been identified as having dental problems. Other staff members mentioned a variety of other potential barriers to student achievement. The project director, whose duties were to oversee the school's specially funded programs, claimed that students were sometimes kept at home to help with chores and care for younger siblings. One of the bilingual education teachers who had made several home visits discovered an absence of "books and furniture and many things others take for granted" (I, 5/2/83, p. 5). Other teachers characterized the home lives of many children as fraught with violence and mentioned shootings and parent alcoholism (I, 3/30/83, p. 7).

The general impression created by administrators and teachers as they spoke about Roosevelt's students was that the school needed to compensate for students' home lives. Factors such as transiency, one-parent families, financial difficulties, and lack of study materials at home were believed to interfere with the ability of students to achieve at school.

Teachers also expressed concern about student behavior and maturity. They mentioned students who "spend time in the bathroom tearing it up or throwing wet towels at the ceiling" (DD). They claimed that students of different ethnic groups did not understand each other (I, 4/21/83, pp. 1-6). Yet the principal, who usually handled a variety of discipline problems each day, maintained that there were very few "mean kids" at Roosevelt and that often there were "underlying" reasons for student misbehavior (TI, 4/20/83, pp. 8-11).

The parents of Roosevelt's students were actively involved in their children's education. They visited the campus frequently, bringing their children to school or picking them up at the end of the day. They stopped by the cafeteria or the playground to check up on their children, and they often chatted with teachers in the halls or the open classrooms. The many assemblies and programs organized throughout the year around holiday or topical themes were usually well attended by parents. Formal groups like the School Site Council (SSC), the School Advisory Council (SAC), and the PTA reported high levels of parent participation (FN, 10/19/82, pp. 11-15; FN, 1/11/83, pp. 1-8; FN, 3/8/83, pp. 1-14).

The PTA's president came to the school several times a week to help out in various ways.

Staff perceptions of parent involvement and support varied. The principal, for example, described the parents as "cooperative" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 10), but the project director said that only a small number of parents (about 25) volunteered their time at school (DD). The assistant principal mentioned that some of the parents were negative about schooling as a result of their own experiences and, consequently, assumed the worst when their children complained (DD). Many teachers felt that parents did not become involved in their children's education because of illiteracy (I, 4/22/83, p. 14), negative attitudes, lack of knowledge about schooling (I, 5/2/83, p. 8), lack of time (I, 4/12/83, p. 7), or a tendency to "let the kids get away with a lot" (TI, 3/15/83, p. 10).

The discrepancies in staff perceptions of parent participation may have been related to the nature of parent involvement at Roosevelt. Although on any given day one would encounter a large number of parents on the Roosevelt campus, most of these did not volunteer for in-class activities. Some attended adult education classes, others supervised students on the playground or in the cafeteria. More often, however, parent involvement at Roosevelt tended to be political. For example, the assistant principal said that Roosevelt's Black community had been instrumental in having unpopular administrators reassigned to other locations (I, 12/8/82, pp. 8-11). Many of the Black parents had participated in the Hawthorne Community Organization (HCO), and as a result of this involvement, they appeared more willing than some parents to question school practices and personnel and to express criticism. The large turnouts at these HCO meetings indicated the degree to which parents were concerned about their children's education and a willingness to express that concern to teachers and administrators (FN, 1/20/83, pp. 1-6; FN, 2/15/83, p. 1).

Roosevelt's Staff

Roosevelt's instructional and support staff included more than 90 people. Seventy-six members of the staff were directly responsible for the instructional program. This group included the principal and assistant principal; 33 regular classroom teachers; 10 special teachers (reading, math, bilingual education, ESL, special education, music, science, and project director); four specialists (a full-time nurse, two part-time psychologists, and a part-time speech therapist); and 27 instructional aides (10 full-time and 17 half-time).

The school's 33 regular classroom teachers were a diverse group. Their professional classroom experience averaged 11.8 years, ranging from a low of one year to a high of 32 years. Three teachers had 1-3 years of experience, six had 4-6 years, ten had 7-10 years, and 14 had more than 10 years in the classroom (see Figure 4 below). The average number of years spent at Roosevelt was 6.8, with a range of 1-22 years. Twelve of the classroom teachers were White, 13 were Black, four were Asian, and four were Spanish-surnamed. The ethnic balance on the staff was, in part, a result of the efforts of Principal Emma Winston, who had hired most of the Hispanic and Asian teachers (DD).

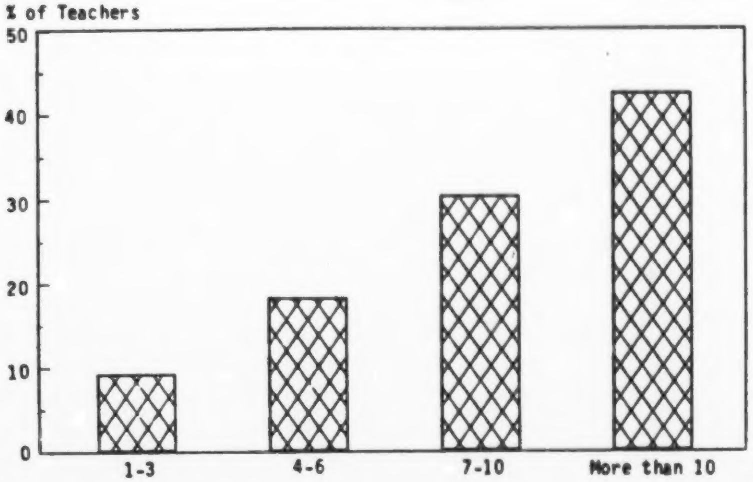

Figure 4: Years of Teaching Experience of Roosevelt's Staff

Roosevelt's practice of grouping grade-level classrooms in the same area of the building was a major factor in the formation of teacher social groups. Those teachers whose rooms were close to each other and who shared professional concerns tended to spend time together. Few teachers spent their lunch hour in the faculty lunchroom. Most preferred to pick up their food and return to their classrooms; some, as in the case of the bilingual education staff, dined together in one of the open classrooms.

Some of the social groups of teachers were more conspicuous than others. The fifth-grade teachers were especially close-knit and often worked together on questions of curriculum and reading placement. They also shared views about policies concerning discipline and promotion (I, 3/3/83, p. 12; SFI, 3/7/83, pp. 3, 5; TI, 5/10/83, pp. 4-5). Another small group, which crossed grade-level lines, stood out because of its strong support for Principal Emma Winston. This group consisted of a third-grade teacher, a science resource teacher, and a third/fourth-grade teacher. They supported Winston's programs and special projects by actively participating and by volunteering extra time at school.

Some tension did exist between classroom teachers and resource teachers. The resource teachers had greater flexibility in scheduling than the regular teachers. They also worked with fewer students, and they controlled the testing schedule. These differences were perceived as privileges by many of the regular classroom teachers and were a cause of envy (I, 1/13/83, pp. 8-9).

Staff attitudes about the school and its students also varied a great deal. Some of the older teachers expressed frustration with the demands placed on them by the students and the curriculum (I, 2/9/83, pp. 1, 12; I, 3/22/83, pp. 1, 8-9). Other teachers spoke with genuine enthusiasm about their work and the children they taught, expressing strong ideas about their goals and methods (I, 2/16/83, pp. 1-4; TI, 2/16/83, pp. 4-15; TI, 5/6/83, p. 3). Nevertheless, when asked about their goals, the majority of the staff mentioned grade-level expectations or instruction in basic skills as their primary target. The exceptions were two teachers whose classes included a number of advanced students. These teachers did not believe that grade-level expectations affected their teaching to any great extent, one of them concentrating instead on reading (TI, 5/10/83, p. 4), and the other focusing on math (I, 2/18/83, p. 4).

The majority of teachers agreed about nonacademic goals for students, stressing the importance of developing student self-esteem and student social skills. There were, however, other nonacademic goals mentioned by teachers. A third-grade teacher and a fifth-grade teacher felt that encouraging students to be independent and to take school seriously were important nonacademic necessities (TI, 5/6/83, pp. 1-2; TI, 5/10/83, p. 1). A number of lower-grade teachers strove to get parents involved in the education of their children by encouraging them to help out with student homework (I, 4/12/83, p. 7; I, 4/13/83, p. 7; I, 4/22/83, p. 14; I, 4/25/83, pp. 5, 7).

Roosevelt's Principal

Any student who broke a rule while playing on one of Roosevelt's playgrounds was likely to be reprimanded by the booming voice of Principal Emma Winston. Winston, a handsome, tall, Black woman in her late 40s, often supervised the playgrounds and the cafeteria with a bullhorn in her hand. She was friendly, energetic, and possessed a sense of humor. Seldom spending time in her office during school hours, she carried out her duties while striding purposefully through the halls, yard, or cafeteria. And despite the demands of supervising the sprawling Roosevelt facility, she enjoyed stopping to chat with staff members and parents whom she encountered on her rounds.

Winston's interest in education dated back to her childhood when she helped instruct other students and worked in the school library and administration office. After majoring in education and completing her student teaching in elementary education, she won a scholarship enabling her to receive training in special education while she lived at a state institution for students who were legally blind. As a result of this experience, she became curious about integrating students with learning problems into regular classroom environments.

Prior to her work in the Hawthorne District, she taught for two years in the South. She then moved to the Hawthorne area where she had been for the past 24 years. Ten of these years were spent as an elementary teacher, three as a curriculum assistant, one as a vice principal, and ten as a principal. During her first two years as principal, she worked in an elementary school with a rapidly growing number of Hispanic and Asian students. Dealing with the changing ethnic population was excellent preparation for her later work at Roosevelt. She then moved to Roosevelt, where she had been for the past eight years (TI, 9/7/82, pp. 1-5).

As a leader, Winston set out clear guidelines for education at Roosevelt, involving herself in a wide range of educational activities at the school. According to one teacher:

> She sits in on . . . the selection of textbooks. . . . [S]he coordinates; she looks at our lesson plans; she looks at the report cards; she looks at possible retentions. She looks at the total child. (TI, 6/3/83, p. 10)

Winston advocated a balanced curriculum, which stressed both basic skills and instruction in music, art, science, and physical education. A second theme in her work was the social development of youngsters. She believed that children needed to learn to work harmoniously in a pluralistic and multicultural society. She supported the use of positive reinforcement as a method for improving student behavior, eschewing excessive criticism or putting children "on the spot" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 19).

Winston also preferred a cooperative style of decision making in regard to parents and staff. She believed that parent reactions and attitudes should be considered when decisions were being made (TI, 9/7/82, pp. 10, 13, 14, 18). For teachers she held frequent staff development meetings to help keep them abreast of new teaching methods and to encourage them to attempt new things. According to one staff member, Winston was "the type of principal that . . . pushes her staff and that helps you to be more aggressive" (TI, 5/10/83, p. 4).

Although Roosevelt's 1,000 students and more than 90 staff members made it larger than most of the elementary schools in the Hawthorne District, its administrative staff consisted only of Winston and an assistant principal who had been at the school for less than a year. Winston responded to this situation by remaining highly visible during the school day. One teacher commented that Winston "has her hands into everything . . . she's an overseer, and sees that everything is done" (TI, 5/10/83, p. 9). Winston did spend more than two hours each day supervising the cafeteria, the playgrounds, and the halls. She also assumed much of the responsibility for disciplining students and had a method for doing so while on the run. Students who had broken rules were often told to follow her as she made her rounds, giving them a chance to "cool off" and to see that "there are other things that have to go on in school" (I, 4/20/83, p. 1). At times, the students trailed behind her like ducklings following a mother duck.

When working with teachers, Winston generally met them in their rooms rather than calling them to her office. She felt that this tactic emphasized the friendly aspect of her relationship with teachers and mitigated against the potentially autocratic aspect of a principal's duties. Her style, she claimed, was more that of a "team player" than a "manager type" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 6). Still, she sometimes experienced difficulties when teachers failed to meet expectations. Although she reported that she could "get the most out of people by working with them and giving them . . . help," she added that occasionally she had employed sterner means, which "I don't particularly like to do, but I will do" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 4).

Winston compared working at the school to "living in a family" where, for the most part, "you work with what you have." Although personalities and feelings could sometimes interfere with job performance, these problems could be solved because "basically, most of the people want to be here" and were willing to work together and share responsibilities (TI, 9/7/82, p. 20).

As a "doer," Winston had some difficulty sharing responsibility and delegating tasks. But she acknowledged the need to "give [others] the opportunity" to make mistakes. When working with the PTA, for example, she accepted the fact that their way of doing things was not "going to be exactly the way I would do it" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 6). But by remaining directly involved with many of the activities at Roosevelt, Winston could, without the aid of a large administrative staff, exert her influence in a setting as large and complex as that of Roosevelt Elementary School.

A Day in the Life of Emma Winston

Principal Emma Winston had developed a style of management that, in her opinion, brought to life her vision of what a school should be within the context of Roosevelt Elementary School and the Hawthorne District. Some of the salient features of that context were: a preponderance of students from low-income families; a growing population of students who spoke little or no English; poor student performance on standardized achievement tests; and a high student transiency rate. This section presents a typical day for Winston at Roosevelt as seen through the eyes of an observer who attempted to record only those incidents directly involving the principal. The "day" as it appears here is in reality a composite, made up of segments drawn from several different days. The incidents, however, are representative and create a vivid and accurate impression of life at Roosevelt. This close-up view describes Winston's interactions with students, staff, and parents, and it also illustrates how political, demographic, and financial factors influenced the actions of Roosevelt's principal.

At 8:30 on an autumn morning, the playground at Roosevelt Elementary School was crowded. Groups of small children played hopscotch, volleyball, and blindman's bluff on the asphalt yard as they waited for classes to begin. Inside the building, bulletin boards announced the season with decorations of ghosts, skeletons, and pumpkins. In her office, Roosevelt's principal, Emma Winston, checked the day's schedule to be sure that when the students lined up to come inside, each student would have a classroom, and each class would have a teacher. Roosevelt's large enrollment and high student transiency rate often transformed this seemingly fundamental duty into a ticklish juggling act.

As Winston worked, she overheard the secretary in the main office tell a teacher that he would be on yard duty at 11:55 that day. Winston quickly stepped from her office and called to the teacher, a young Black man who was substituting for one of the regular staff members. Taking him aside, she told him that the other teachers in the open-space area where he had worked the day before had complained that his students were too loud.

Winston then began her morning rounds. Her first stop was a first-grade class that was scheduled to visit a pumpkin patch later that day. She wanted to be sure that all plans were in order. The first-grade teacher responded to Winston's queries by describing the arrangements she had made for transportation and by assuring Winston that the outing was well organized. Winston, who had not known how they were getting to their destination, seemed satisfied.

Toward nine o'clock, Winston headed out to the playground to supervise students' entry into the building. She promptly interrupted a fight between two boys, who explained that they were only playing karate. "Why aren't you supposed to be doing that?" Winston asked them. Neither answered, so after a pause, Winston told them that playing karate leads to fighting, as it had in this case. While she spoke with them, the bell rang, and the other students lined up to go into their classrooms.

Winston still had to complete her check on absent teachers. "Get your books," she told Jesse, one of the fighters. Then, as she walked away, she assured Jesse and his friend that she would talk to their teachers and that they should report to her office at 10 o'clock. The boys were silent at first, but when Winston was out of earshot, Jesse remarked that he wasn't going to report.

From the Community Room on the other side of the yard, Winston phoned the main office to find out whether all the teachers who had not yet reported for work had called in. After receiving an answer, she walked back across the yard to double-check and saw that, in fact, one group of students was standing in line with no teacher to lead them into the building. When the students saw Winston coming, several of the girls shouted and ran to greet her with hugs. Winston then opened the door to the building and led them inside just as their teacher rushed up. Without ceremony, Winston turned the group over to her.

Upon returning to the main office, Winston asked the secretary whether they had been assigned a substitute for Mrs. Vickers, an absent teacher. Before the secretary could answer, however, a woman entered the office to speak with Winston about a new copying machine for the school. As the visitor talked about the machine, the secretary tried to get Winston's attention to tell her that a student's mother wished to speak with her on the phone. Winston concluded her conversation with the copy-machine representative and spoke briefly with the mother. When the principal hung up the receiver, the secretary told her that a substitute was on the way. Winston quickly phoned Mrs. Vickers's classroom to tell the teacher now covering that class that a substitute would arrive shortly. Winston added that she would pay the teacher for using her preparation time to cover for Mrs. Vickers, and she apologized for the inconvenience.

Just then, two students, a Laotian girl named Lay and a Black boy named Michael, entered the office. Both had notes from their teachers. The girl's shoe strap was broken, and the boy was suspected of knowing something about a missing calculator. The boy insisted, however, that he hadn't seen anything. Before Winston could act on these matters, however, two mothers came in, one with two daughters and the other with one. The children needed to register. With the aid of a clerk, Winston began checking class lists, commenting that classrooms were very crowded at Roosevelt.

As they perused the class lists, a man walked into the office, prompting Winston to look up and smile. "Do you have something for me?" she asked. He said that he had some furniture. "Wonderful!" she exclaimed and asked him to put a desk in the custodian's room. She then turned to the clerk and told her to put the two sisters in the "pivotal class" because she had deliberately left some space there for late enrollees. She would go now and inform the teacher of the new students.

As Winston left the office, she ran into five very small girls who had been involved in a name-calling incident. Winston chastised not only the name callers but also the girl who had been the object of the incident because she had hit the name callers. "Being called names doesn't hurt," Winston told the girl. "When you hit someone you become a bully." Winston then went to the pivotal classroom and told the teacher about the two new students. As she was doing this, however, the secretary called to inform Winston that the two girls were not in the same grade, as she had thought, so Winston had to return to the office. On the way, however, Winston remembered something about the furniture. She found the delivery man and, in a honeyed voice, asked him to move the furniture again. She wanted to have a desk put downstairs.

Back in her office, Winston spoke briefly with the secretary and then began dealing with the children who had arrived earlier with notes. First, she called in Lay, the Laotian girl with the broken shoe. While Winston talked to Lay, the school's project director for specially funded programs rummaged through Winston's office for supplies to make some coffee for a meeting later in the morning. She interrupted Winston momentarily to ask how she should arrange the refreshments, and Winston told her to fill one pot with coffee and the other with hot water. Winston then turned to Lay and told her that she would telephone her home and have someone bring her another pair of shoes.

Before speaking with the boy about the missing calculator, Winston walked to the open-classroom area to tell the teacher that a new desk would be placed in her classroom. She was surprised to find that the teacher also had a piano and said that she had not known there was another one in the building. She commented that the piano would have to be moved to make room for the desk.

By the time Winston had settled most of the problems of placing children and furniture, it was 9:45, and Roosevelt's 1,000 students were spilling out onto the playgrounds for recess. Winston was expected to supervise, so the issue of the missing calculator would have to wait awhile. Winston returned to her office, took her bullhorn from her closet, and went out to the playground.

Using the bullhorn from across the yard, she told several students not to sit on the jungle gym. Meanwhile, another student had given her the book that Jesse had left in the tot lot earlier, and a girl told her that a boy named Domingo had been bothering her. Winston reprimanded Domingo, not only for bothering the girl, but because he had been fighting earlier. Then, turning from Domingo, she strolled across the grounds greeting other students, resolving a dispute among some boys, and listening to another complaint about name calling. Just before recess ended, she wandered back to the tot lot where she found Domingo tripping other students with his foot. She told him to follow her. As the other children lined up to return to classes, Winston went back to the building with Domingo in tow. Walking through the hall, they passed Lay, the Laotian girl, who was now wearing a pair of tennis shoes. Winston gave her a pat and said, "Good." Lay smiled shyly.

In the office, Winston turned to Domingo and asked him his teacher's name. Then she asked whether his mom was home. "Yes," he answered. She told him to get his locator card from the clerk and bring it to her. Then she took the card from him so that she could call his home and report his misbehavior. Finally, she gave him a note to admit him to class.

Shortly after 10 o'clock, Winston was able to turn her attention to the business of the missing calculator. "Come on, Michael," she said to the boy, who had been waiting for some time now, and the two of them walked to his classroom. Winston interrupted the teacher and had her call over the girl whose calculator was missing. The principal whispered a bit to the girl, who began to cry. Winston then questioned the class about the incident, asking who sat where yesterday? and who talked to whom? For her pains she received contradictory answers, but she tried to piece the story together nonetheless.

Selecting a boy named Marvin, who had said quite a bit in the discussion, Winston returned to the main office for a private conference with Michael and Marvin. In the meantime, three girls from the class had been escorted into Winston's office, and Winston left the boys in the main office while she went into her office to talk with the girls. A few minutes later, Winston emerged from her office with the three girls and the missing calculator. It had been found in a rest room.

Winston now took Michael and Marvin into the office and said to them, "It bothers me when someone can't own up to doing something. We all do things we shouldn't, but people have to own up when the chips are down." Her voice was annoyed but not angry. The boys insisted that they hadn't gone into the rest room where the calculator had been found. Winston tried unsuccessfully to call their parents. She then wrote passes for the two boys, telling Marvin that she wanted him in her office from 11:10 until 11:20 and that he wasn't to go out in the yard to play at recess. She then tried to call Michael's grandfather but failed to reach him. So she gave Michael the other pass and warned him not to talk to the girls.

Shortly after the boys left, Winston went again to the classroom to give the calculator to the teacher. Winston told her that the girls had found the calculator in the rest room, but that she had not found out who had taken it.

Leaving the classroom, Winston prepared to make another supervisory swing of the grounds. On the way, she stopped by Mrs. Vickers's class to chat with the substitute. Winston answered some questions about the daily schedule and told the children to help the teacher by being good, raising their hands, and working hard.

When Winston reached the playground, it was 10:30. Because classes were in session, the grounds were quiet and empty. Then she saw two older-looking boys whom she did not recognize on the swings. She approached and asked them why they weren't in school. They told her they were from a nearby junior high school and that they were on the way to a doctor's appointment. Winston told them they would have to leave the school grounds, and they walked away without dispute.

Winston then stepped into the Community Room where an ESL class for adults was in session. Five Hispanic and eight Asian adults were at work. Winston asked the teacher about the progress of the students. On her way back to her office, Winston met another unfamiliar student in the hall. She asked the girl sternly, "Excuse me, is this your school?" The girl replied that it wasn't. Winston told her she should not be there and pointed the way out. The girl obeyed.

After the girl left the building, Winston heard the sound of voices and laughter coming from one of the boys' bathrooms. She walked in and rousted out a number of students, telling them that they shouldn't be there. They were making too much noise for the classes nearby. As she spoke, the ESL teacher emerged from her room and suggested that Winston post an upper-grade member of the school traffic patrol there.

When Winston returned to her office, she found the project director waiting to talk with her about the Parent Advisory Committee meeting scheduled for that afternoon. They discussed the agenda and the refreshments until a student named Jackie interrupted them, handing Winston a note from her teacher.

After reading the note, Winston asked Jackie why she had not gone to the bathroom during recess. Jackie stared back without answering. Reaching for the phone, Winston asked Jackie whether she still lived at the address on her locator card. As Winston dialed a number, Jackie said, "Mom don't have no phone." Continuing to dial, Winston then asked Jackie whether she still lived with her grandmother in another part of town because if she did, she could go to school in her own neighborhood. But before Jackie could reply, Winston began speaking into the phone and asked whether the person who had answered was related to the girl. She then handed the phone to Jackie, who listened for a moment and then replied, "Nothing." Abruptly, Winston took the phone back and explained to the person on the other end that Roosevelt had done a lot for the child, and now it was time for the youngster to do something for herself. Winston reminded the listener that they had changed Jackie's lunch hour, but she still refused to cooperate with the teacher. She was noisy in class and often would not return to the classroom after recess. Finally, Winston checked the accuracy of her address information and ended the conversation.

Winston told Jackie to remain in her office while she turned her attention to other matters. The most pressing task was to finish checking the report cards, which were scheduled to be issued by teachers the next day. She read each one for the teacher's comments and the appropriateness of the grades. As she was doing this, one of the resource teachers came in and requested to use her lunch time to see the dentist. She said she would stay late in turn. Winston readily agreed.

After returning her attention to the report cards for a few minutes, Winston was interrupted again by the secretary, who had answered a call from the bilingual department of the district office. The call was in regard to the Asian instructional aides who came to Roosevelt twice a week to work with Asian students. The Asian aides no longer had a classroom because the adult ESL classes were now meeting both mornings and afternoons. The aides were discouraged because they had only a half hour to collect their students and find a place to settle down with them, leaving little time for actual instruction. Winston mentioned the possibility of the aides using the teachers' lunchroom, but she also noted that staff members often chatted, smoked, or ate in the lunchroom at that time. The problem was still unresolved when Winston hung up the phone and went to supervise the first of three lunch shifts.

She retrieved her bullhorn from the closet and went downstairs to the cafeteria, taking Jackie with her. She directed Jackie to help set up trays for the kindergartners and sixth graders who would eat during the first shift. Students began coming in to eat. They picked up their food and sat at the tables. On this particular day, a baseball game was scheduled during the lunch hour, and students were eager to finish eating and get outside. Using the bullhorn, Winston had to remind them not to walk out with their milk cartons.

As the students ate, some problems arose. A girl reported to the principal that another student had insulted her mother. "Who passed the first lick?" Winston asked. The principal then told the other student that comments about another person's mother are "fighting words [that] lead to nothing but trouble." Next, she comforted a new kindergarten student who had entered the lunchroom crying. As Winston calmed the little girl, a commotion in another part of the cafeteria attracted her attention. She found an older student to stay with the kindergartner and went to investigate the problem. Several upper-grade students were shouting and shoving each other. Winston quieted them down and told them to remain standing quietly until she returned. Then she made a full circuit of the cafeteria before allowing the students to sit down.

Some of the students were already out in the yard, and Winston went to check on them. On the way, she encountered some maintenance men who wanted to repair a broken door on one of the bathrooms. Winston told the girls inside to leave so that the men could work on the door. After the girls had gone, the project director appeared and volunteered to help supervise the halls. Winston readily accepted the assistance and headed outside. When she reached the playground, Winston found another, unplanned ballgame taking place. Several boys were using a stick for a bat. Winston took the stick away from them and explained to them that using a stick in that way was dangerous. Seeing no more problems, Winston returned to the cafeteria, making a stop in the office to phone the bilingual administrator with whom she had spoken earlier about the Asian aides. She told the person that the aides could move into the faculty dining room, but they would need to pin down the exact days.

When she reached the cafeteria at 12:15, the room was very noisy. Some milk was spilled on the floor, so Winston went to the serving area to call the custodian to clean up the spill. In the serving area, a big rush was underway to set up trays for the last group of students. One student put milk and utensils on trays. Adult cafeteria workers struggled to open a large can of fruit cocktail. Winston stood there as if to hurry them along. The custodian reappeared and announced that the eating area was very disorderly, prompting Winston to warn the student helpers that they were falling behind. She returned to the eating area, and using the bullhorn, she told the students who were eating that she didn't want to catch them throwing food. Students who were finished eating were told to go outside. By 12:30, the room was in order for the next group of lunch students, the third graders. This would be the last of the three shifts. In an hour and a quarter, over 1,000 students would have been served.

On her next swing outside, Winston broke up another fight, told the two boys involved to follow her to her office, and reprimanded three other students. She arrived back in the office at 12:40, with the two boys in tow. Winston sat down at her desk and told them to stand in front of the desk while she resumed her earlier task of reviewing the report cards. For nearly half an hour, Winston reviewed report cards, with the boys standing by her desk. They were not allowed to talk or move. At one point, without looking up, she told them to take their hands off the desk.

Finally, Winston was ready to talk to the boys about their fighting. They began by protesting that they were just playing and that one had pushed the other in fun. Under her questioning, they eventually admitted that there had been a fight. As questions and answers were exchanged, the principal tried to get them to say, "Yes, Mrs. Winston" rather than "Yeah" or "Okay." She was able to succeed in doing so with one of the boys. When she was ready to send them back to their class, Winston asked if they had eaten. They had not, so she accompanied them to the cafeteria to get some lunch. There, they encountered a stonefaced woman who was not pleased with Winston's request because the kitchen had just been cleaned and food put away. She agreed, however, to get the boys some milk, fruit, and cookies. Winston left them there and returned to her own office for a quick lunch.

During lunch, she tackled some paperwork, made a couple of phone calls, and made one more tour of the playground where a number of students greeted her with hugs. As she started back to the building, she noticed that dark clouds now covered the sky, and a rainstorm was imminent.

At 1:45, Winston attended a brief meeting scheduled with the fifth- and sixth-grade teachers to distribute student test scores from last spring's district proficiency screening test in basic skills areas. Winston told the teachers that copies of the results would also be sent home with students' report cards. She asked the teachers to go over the scores with the children individually to make them aware of their "weak spots." Many of the sixth-grade teachers interrupted to say that a number of the score sheets they had received were for students not in their classes. Winston reminded them of the school's 40% transiency rate. Finally, in commenting on the students' scores, she suggested that the teachers start preparing their students for test taking. "Do it the way the test does it," she admonished.

Winston had a Parent Advisory Committee (PAC) meeting scheduled for the rest of the afternoon. In preparation for today's meeting, Winston and the project director spent part of the afternoon draping paper tablecloths of brown, yellow, and orange over rectangular folding tables. They then placed centerpieces of pumpkins and dried gourds on each table. The refreshments included coffee, tea, fruit punch, salads, rice, bread, cake, cookies, and a chicken casserole. As Winston and the project director worked, teachers and students wandered by and pitched in. Winston was careful to don an apron to protect herself, joking that she didn't think the superintendent would understand if she showed up for an evening meeting looking as if she had just finished a shift waiting tables.

Around 2:45, parents began to arrive for the three o'clock meeting. Some of the mothers brought their children with them. They sat quietly at the long tables and talked among themselves as the preparations continued. During this time, several teachers also arrived and joined the group. At 3:05, the chairman of the group, Mr. Wood, arrived. He was an older Black man with a long history of interest in community affairs. Ignoring the noise from the preparations, he launched immediately into his opening remarks.

Mr. Wood asked everyone present to introduce herself and thanked Winston and the project director for decorating and making everything so pleasant. At this point, the group of participants consisted of three Hispanic women, six Black women, one White woman, and half a dozen children. During the course of the meeting, three more Hispanic mothers would arrive with children. As was typical of these gatherings during the work day, no fathers were present.

Among several other remarks Mr. Wood made during his rambling address was the observation that the district was operating this year with a deficit of several million dollars. This meant that the schools needed all the help they could get. Moving quickly from topic to topic, he spoke with increasing volume until he finally concluded by stating, "My parents come before anyone. Without parents we have no children and no schools." After expressing appreciation to the women for their coming, he turned the meeting over to Winston.

Winston cheerfully welcomed the parents and thanked them for coming to the meeting in spite of the rain. She then invited them to a number of upcoming school events. Next, she described several changes in school procedures, including a new testing program and a reward system for managing student behavior in the cafeteria. She also told them of the superintendent's district reorganizing plans, which would provide parents with the opportunity to make suggestions about upgrading education.

After she had finished the preliminary announcements, her tone became very serious as she told the parents that someone had been coming into the school yard at night and drawing vulgar pictures on the wall. She also said that a vagrant had been sleeping on the porch in the yard. The police had been called, but the man was always gone by the time they arrived. Winston also told them that she had encountered some difficulty having the vulgar pictures painted over because union regulations prevented the custodians from doing the work. Although everyone at the meeting was distressed about these events, no decisions were made.

Having finished her announcements, Winston turned the meeting over to the project director, who discussed parent questionnaires. During the rest of the meeting, Winston interrupted only to request that a mother with questions regarding report cards speak with her and to express regret that a translator had been unavailable for the Hispanic mothers.

Around four o'clock, Winston concluded the meeting by announcing that it was time to eat. Everyone got up and stood in line. For over an hour, the parents and school staff enjoyed the food and the chance to socialize. This occasion gave Winston time to chat informally with parents, which she particularly liked to do. The refreshment period was also a change of pace during the principal's long and busy day. Although it was after five o'clock when the last parent left, Winston's day was not yet complete. That evening she would spend several hours at a district meeting. And, of course, the next morning, 1,100 children and adults would be looking to her once again to resolve problems and keep things moving at Roosevelt Elementary School.

Summary

Roosevelt Elementary School was a large institution, serving a multiethnic population of Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and a few Whites. Most of the students came from low-income homes; many of their parents had little education. Some parents were illiterate, and others did not speak English. The student transiency rate was high, and students did poorly on standardized tests of basic skills.

Roosevelt's principal, Emma Winston, responded to this array of factors by playing an active role in the day-to-day life at Roosevelt--a strategy that had made her a very visible figure throughout the school. Nevertheless, the size of the facility and its large student population mandated that Winston be selective about how she managed this complex institution. She had hired a multiethnic staff that would provide instruction in languages other than English. She made efforts to keep her teaching staff apprised of newer teaching methods, emphasizing staff development through teacher in-service training and by sharing with teachers information about district expectations. Also, because she characterized herself as a team player, Winston supported district programs by attending meetings and passing on information regarding district policies and programs.

Another aspect of Winston's "team player" philosophy was that her interactions with faculty tended to be supportive rather than directive. Although she spent considerable time monitoring the activities at Roosevelt, her exchanges with staff were characterized by a warm, friendly manner. Winston also assisted her teachers by assuming much of the responsibility for maintaining student discipline, especially in the cafeteria and on the playgrounds. And because she often took on the involved task of assigning students to classrooms, Winston maintained an awareness of the status of Roosevelt's classrooms and was able to respond quickly to the needs of students and staff.

THE PRINCIPAL AND THE INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEM OF THE SCHOOL

In the previous section, we introduced the reader to the school's setting, staff, and clients. We also attempted to bring our descriptions to life by allowing the reader to walk the halls with the principal, observing events as she experienced them. In this second portion of our study, we describe various elements of the school's instructional system, and we recount the manner in which the principal's activities influenced, or failed to influence, each aspect. Again, our purpose is to reveal the role of the principal in the complex task of managing instruction at the building level.

The array of elements that we describe as parts of the instructional system may surprise some readers, for we envision the instructional process as involving much more than didactic interactions between teacher and student. The technical and social aspects of instruction are created, to a great extent, by teachers and students in classrooms, but instructional processes are affected directly and indirectly by social and organizational features of the school itself. The school, in turn, is affected by its larger context. For example, opportunities and constraints for participants in schools derive from state and federal regulations, districtwide programs and policies, as well as from circumstances imposed by the communities within which schools reside. In addition, each participant in the schooling process brings to a building or classroom his or her own history of experiences and his or her beliefs. These personal and idiosyncratic elements of school organizations also greatly influence the nature of instruction and student experience (Dwyer, 1984). In the first section of this study, we illustrated how these factors interweave to form the context in which we view principals' behaviors and the consequences of those behaviors.

But to describe completely--or even satisfactorily--the complex blend of individuals and contexts that make up a school, we must, in some rational fashion, untangle policies, programs, individual proclivities, services, operating procedures, and even building designs. In order to accomplish this analysis, we must make distinctions, slicing organizational wholes into arbitrary and discrete pieces. The problem with any such dissection, however, is the artificial creation of categories. In the day-to-day events in the schools of our studies, no such distinctions occur; boundaries blur through multitudes of interactions and interactional effects. Nor can our "surgery" be guided by previous work. Prior research has failed to set forth a single, generalizable model of schools--the successes of the extant models are hinged to the specific purposes of the authors' analyses (e.g., Charters & Jones, 1973; Dunkin & Biddle, 1974; Gowin, 1981; Metz, 1978; Smith & Geoffrey, 1968).

Our strategy in facing this problem is twofold. First, whenever possible, we have allowed our incisions to be guided by the practical sense of the principals and teachers with whom we worked, using those categories mentioned frequently by them or used by them in planning. Secondly, in order to illustrate the permeability of our categories, we have taken every opportunity to describe how the different parts of our model affect one another. The unavoidable consequence of this latter tactic is some redundancy. We hope the reader will be understanding and patient.

This section, then, begins with a description of the overall goals of the school and proceeds to an examination of the social or climatic factors supporting or interfering with realization of those goals. It also describes the technical or organizational aspects of instruction at the school that either harmonize or clash with those goals.

Roosevelt's Social and Academic Goals

John Dewey (1916) asserted that as a society advances, the need for formalized education increases. Knowledge grows exponentially, its accruing bulk rapidly outpacing any single individual's capacity or opportunity to gather it all firsthand. Schools, in response, are appointed to pass on the experiences, achievements, and values of a society and to prepare individuals to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. As a result, children, through schooling, come to link the past to the future. Schools also serve a custodial purpose. Children constructively occupied as learners permit their parents the freedom to earn a living and secure a home. This multitude of purposes and responsibilities often finds expression through the social and academic goals that principals and teachers set for their students.

Emma Winston, faced with a school population that was educationally disadvantaged, highly transient, and ethnically heterogeneous, had formulated realistic goals for Roosevelt's students. She saw society as constantly changing and becoming more complex, and she said that "basically, we're [trying] to educate the young people to survive in this society," economically, socially, and mentally. "We really need to teach them how to learn and how to unlearn, because technology is changing," she commented (TI, 9/7/82, p. 6).

Winston's pragmatic approach stressed academic goals, in particular the need for the basic skills of reading and mathematics. This was especially critical at Roosevelt because its students scored below average on standardized achievement tests, and many did not speak English. "I think she . . . sees a great need for the basics . . . and kids learning how to read," one teacher said (TI, 5/10/83, p. 6).

The principal, however, also wanted to provide her students with a "balanced curriculum" and the tools for "lifelong learning" (TI, 9/7/82, pp. 7, 18). As another teacher said:

> [I think she's] trying to get a lot of learning going on, but trying to balance it . . . with these other kinds of fun things and having a lot of the assemblies and the other things that we try to do at Roosevelt. (TI, 3/7/83, p. 9)

For Winston, the school was a microcosm where children could learn responsible behavior and cooperation as well as academic subjects. She saw all these skills as essential for her students' success as adults. As one teacher summarized, "I think she . . . [wants children to learn] how to get out and be a part of society and make a fruitful life" (TI, 5/10/83, p. 6).

Social Goals: Winston's social goals for her students were shaped both by her perception of children's needs and by her knowledge of how schools were increasingly faced with the task of taking on socialization responsibilities once borne by home and community. "I feel that student attitudes towards self, towards school, towards people are very important," she said (TI, 9/7/82, p. 22), and she wanted students to learn self-discipline, responsibility, independence, and cooperation. The latter was, she believed, especially important at Roosevelt because of the school's multiethnic population (TI, 9/7/82, p. 22). Her ideal social curriculum included "lifelong learning" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 7), and the school attempted to enrich students' lives by providing mini-courses in leisure-time activities, the humanities, and library skills (TI, 9/7/82, p. 7; FN, 11/22/82, p. 4). She also encouraged parents' involvement in the school, seeing their presence and participation as a vital part of an effective school community (TI, 9/7/82, pp. 22-23).

Winston worked actively to communicate her social goals to staff and students. At faculty meetings, she stressed to teachers the importance of training children in appropriate modes of social behavior, and when she supervised the cafeteria and grounds, she constantly reinforced and corrected students' behavior, telling them how to stand in line, eat, sit, and address each other (TI, 9/7/82, p. 19; FN, 9/23/82, pp. 3, 9). At assemblies, she explained to students the value of cooperative and positive attitudes toward themselves, the school, and society (TI, 2/16/83, p. 5). And she instructed her teachers in handling community relations; one teacher, for example, reported that Winston had taught her how to communicate with parents without "talking down to them" (TI, 2/16/83, p. 4).

Although few teachers attributed their own social goals to Winston, their comments indicated general agreement with the principal's aims. They stressed the importance of developing students' self-esteem and ability to get along with others (TI, 2/16/83, p. 1; TI, 3/7/83, p. 3; TI, 3/17/83, p. 2; TI, 4/21/83, p. 1; TI, 6/3/83, p. 1). Several said they also wanted students to learn how to work independently and take school seriously (TI, 5/6/83, pp. 1-2; TI, 5/10/83, p. 1). Another said she tried to shape "overall personalities" and "develop the total child" (TI, 4/21/83, pp. 1, 4). Still others indicated they valued self-control over behavior (TI, 3/7/83, p. 1; TI, 5/6/83, p. 2). Parent involvement was stressed by several lower-grade teachers, who worked to get parents to help their children with homework (I, 4/12/83, p. 7; I, 4/13/83, p. 7; I, 4/22/83, p. 14; I, 4/25/83, pp. 5, 7).

Teachers' comments indicated they believed Winston tried to make the school "the happiest place for children" (TI, 2/16/83, p. 5) and "a place where there will be learning happening" (TI, 3/7/83, p. 5). One acknowledged Winston's role in creating a productive school environment, saying:

> I think she's trying to accomplish an environment here where the staff can be happy, they can feel good about each other, and they can work together as a team . . . then you're more productive as far as the children [go]. . . . The children are her ultimate goal, I believe. (TI, 4/21/83, p. 5)

Academic Goals: In compliance with statewide goals, Hawthorne's school superintendent had stated that by June 1984, every school site and every child should be at or near the 50th percentile on the standardized achievement tests used by the district. Further, the district had recently adopted uniform grading, discipline, and grade-level expectations policies for its schools.

Winston supported the uniform policies because of her school's high transiency rate; she felt that children who had to move from school to school would benefit as they would not have such a hard time reorienting themselves (TI, 9/7/82, p. 11). But she took a realistic attitude toward the goal of raising test scores, and although she wanted to enforce the district's wishes, she took into consideration the overall resources of her school and community. To the superintendent's academic goals statements she responded:

> Well, we're certainly going to try, but we have to see where we are coming from, if we're realistic about it. I know in this particular school, it would be almost a miracle to get all the children over the 50th percentile by that time because [of] where they're from. We have a lot of children who have just learned

> the language--and that's not realistic. . . . I personally do not think that the CTBS scores are the only thing the children should learn. They have a major role--but there are other things also. However, we will focus more on areas that are to be tested. (FN, 10/14/82, p. 2)

This quote reveals the tension between Winston's belief in a "balanced curriculum" that included the humanities, social science, and science (TI, 9/7/82, p. 18), and her desire to enforce the district's "back to basics" approach. Winston acknowledged that, given the school's below-average performance on grade-level tests and the large number of students who were recent immigrants, basic skills were important. However, she was adamant about the importance of a well-rounded education.

Her response to this conflict was to function as a "team player" for the district. She concentrated her efforts on raising students' test scores, while encouraging her teachers to balance the basics with other subjects. Then, to ensure that all areas of the curriculum were being covered, she monitored her staff closely. She understood, however, that compliance was sometimes difficult for her teachers. The bilingual education teachers, for example, were allowed to have less social studies, music, and art in order to provide Spanish language instruction (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). And she herself was under pressure not only from the district, but from vocal members of the school's community. The chairperson of the School Advisory Council had often raised questions about the proficiency of the school at its monthly meetings, criticism that Winston handled in a low-key manner by answering questions and clarifying issues for the parents (FN, 10/19/82, pp. 11-14; FN, 1/11/83, pp. 1-8; FN, 3/8/83, pp. 1-14).

Most of the teachers at Roosevelt perceived the principal's short-range academic goals as achievement of grade-level expectations for the students (SO, 11/22/82, p. 1; TI, 3/1/83, p. 4; TI, 3/7/83, p. 1; TI, 4/21/83, p. 1; TI, 5/6/83, p. 1). Generally, teachers believed that Winston's long-range academic goals were to raise the school's test scores (TI, 3/1/83, p. 5; TI, 3/7/83, p. 6; TI, 4/21/83, p. 7; TI, 5/6/83, p. 8; TI, 5/10/83, p. 7).

Winston communicated these goals to her teachers in various ways. At the beginning of the year, staff meetings were spent discussing the need to bring the children's achievement levels up to par (FN, 9/8/82, p. 12). Winston attended most of the staff's grade-level meetings or requested a report to keep abreast of the progress at each level (TI, 3/7/83, pp. 8, 15; TI, 4/21/83, pp. 9, 11; TI, 5/6/83, p. 11). She also closely monitored reading levels and report cards, and checked teachers' lesson plans to see that they had successfully accomplished the academic goals they had set for themselves (TI, 3/7/83, p. 11). When interviewed, the majority of teachers reflected Winston's emphasis on meeting students' fundamental educational needs, discussing their academic goals in terms of basic skills and grade-level expectations.

The principal's realistic assessment of her students led her not only to stress basic skills, but also to accommodate their need for bilingual language instruction. Roosevelt operated a bilingual language program, English as a Second Language (ESL), and a bilingual pullout program. The bilingual and ESL programs primarily served the lower grade levels; in the upper grades, the bilingual pullout program provided tutorial services. Although Winston recognized the importance of maintaining students' first language, she believed that it was crucial for students to learn English so they could adjust to and manage well in American society (FN, 9/7/82, p. 8). And although she wholeheartedly supported the school's multicultural activities, she stressed the need for her teachers to pay less attention to these programs and get back into the basics (FN, 12/1/82, pp. 5-6).

Instruction in language and math skills at Roosevelt was supplemented by several enrichment programs organized by the school's project director. The Learning through Literature program taught children vocabulary and writing skills through exposure to a variety of subjects. A reading program partially funded by the federal government allowed students in several grades to choose and keep three free books in the school year (FN, 11/22/82, pp. 3, 4).

Summary: Emma Winston's goals for students at Roosevelt were shaped by her view of society, her knowledge of the problems her students would face as adults, and the pressures exerted upon her by the school district's emphasis on test scores and basic skills. She made her decisions with some understanding of the historical and multifaceted dimensions of her school's environment. Winston's aims were pragmatic, stated generally as successful futures for her students, and to achieve this end, she considered her resources, her staff, and the performance levels of her students in preparing for that future. Working in a situation with many constraints on her actions, Winston continued to initiate and organize parents, students, and staff to create a constructive learning environment.

The following sections describe how the principal and staff of Roosevelt Elementary School strove to implement their goals, working to create a productive instructional climate and instructional organization. In previous work, we identified climate and instructional organization as avenues along which principals could work to shape and improve their schools (Bossert et al., 1982). During our collaborative field work with principals, we continued to find these two concepts helpful in organizing the multitude of events, processes, and structures that we encountered in schools. Our definitions, however, changed to accommodate our expanding experiences. Again, the importance of these two concepts to our study of the instructional management role of principals is that they illuminate many of the strategies employed by our principals to accomplish the goals they established for their schools.

Roosevelt's Instructional Climate

In our study, we treat school climate (a notion embraced by all of our participating principals) as an observable and changeable characteristic of schools. For our principals, climate encompassed both physical and social elements. Changing a school's climate could mean anything from painting walls to organizing the way students lined up at recess. The comprehensiveness of the concept can be grasped from one principal's comment: "School climate starts at the curb." In general, our principals perceived climate as a diverse set of properties that would communicate to students that schools are pleasant but serious work places designed to help students achieve. In the following account of Roosevelt's instructional climate we will describe: a) the physical aspects of the school plant that promote or hinder the accomplishment of social and academic goals at the school; b) the social curriculum--activities designed to promote positive relationships within the school, student self-esteem, and productive attitudes toward learning; c) the school's discipline program; and d) the nature of the interrelationships among all members of the Roosevelt learning community.

Physical Components: Like many other principals, Emma Winston believed that maintaining a clean, orderly environment was important for effective learning, and she spent much of her time attending to the physical plant of Roosevelt School. Budget contraints had led the school district to cut, in Winston's words, "the things furthest away from the classroom" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 9), and although she applauded the intent to minimize the cutbacks' effects on students, she said:

> Well, that's good in a way, but to me, the physical plant is just as important. . . . They cut back buildings and grounds and it's very difficult to catch up. Or you cut back custodial services and then you [the principal] have to find cleaning fluid or you're not going to have the place clean. . . . So you really can't isolate . . . the cuts or say they will not affect the school site or the job in the classroom. There's always an effect. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 9)

Winston attended to many details of the physical plant and equipment. For example, she contacted the district to have shrubbery trimmed (FN, 9/8/82, p. 16), dealt with faulty equipment (FN, 9/8/82, p. 22; FN, 10/19/82, p. 10; FN, 4/20/83, p. 9), and negotiated appropriate use of the new school copy machine (FN, 10/19/82, p. 5). Perhaps her major focus in this area, however, was on keeping the school clean. And she wanted the entire Roosevelt community to participate in this effort. At the first faculty meeting of the year, Winston told teachers:

> All the custodians worked very hard over the summer. . . . [We] need to train the children to help clean up and to learn cooperation and responsibility. (FN, 9/8/82, p. 13)

Much of this training took place in the school cafeteria, where over 1,000 students were fed each day. Winston supervised the cafeteria during lunchtime, and she saw this duty as a key opportunity to teach children appropriate social behavior. At the faculty meeting, Winston said:

> The cafeteria must be kept clean. If [I] find food under the tables, [I] will go to the classrooms and go through a "dry run" [of proper procedures] with the children. (FN, 9/8/82, p. 12)

As she monitored the cafeteria, Winston periodically reminded students to clean up and leave food or containers in the cafeteria, a point that she particularly emphasized at the beginning of the year when students were first learning the rules. Some confusion may have resulted at first because the Spanish translation of the cafeteria rules, sent home to parents, stated that food and drink cartons should be taken outside (FN, 11/3/82, p. 4).

In addition, Winston organized a contest to encourage the children to keep the cafeteria clean. Classes that left their places clean were marked on a chart with "happy faces," and students in the best class received ice cream bars. Winston reported to parents at an advisory council meeting that students were doing well in this regard (FN, 3/8/83, p. 9), but her efforts were not entirely successful: Even in the spring, students were still being reminded to clean up and leave milk cartons inside (FN, 4/20/83, p. 10).

Because Winston was concerned with the school's image, she initiated efforts to discourage some vandals who had come repeatedly into the school yard at night and had drawn vulgar pictures on the walls. The principal raised this issue at the advisory council meeting and talked with parents about creating a parent patrol (FN, 3/8/83, p. 10).

An aspect of the physical environment that directly affected instruction was the layout of the "open-space" wing of the school. Teachers whose classes were held in this wing complained about the distraction of noise from other classes or from students or parents in the hallways, and talked about planning their own activities to keep the noise level down (TI, 4/21/83, p. 4; I, 5/2/83, p. 2). When the problem was brought to the principal's attention, she reassured teachers by pointing out extenuating circumstances, such as a rainy day that had kept students inside (FN, 4/20/83, p. 6), or she took action when she could, such as talking with a substitute teacher about whom the others had complained (FN, 10/19/82, p. 1). There did not, however, seem to be any long-term solutions to this noise problem. Given these circumstances, teachers did report at least one advantage to the open-space arrangement, saying it promoted more communication among students, parents, and teachers (I, 5/2/83, p. 2).

Social Curriculum: Just as a neat and clean environment might encourage children to get involved in school and think more positively about it, the very words, mannerisms, actions, and activities of staff members may communicate to students a staff's level of commitment to, and concern about, children. These cues, conscious or not, may influence students' perceptions of their own efficacy and of their "belongingness" within their school and classroom communities (Brookover et al., 1973; Fuller, Wood, Rapoport, & Dornbusch, 1981; Getzels & Thelen, 1960). These aspects of school climate make up the social curriculum of a school. Most of our participants believed that this curriculum was important in attaining the school's social and academic goals.

Teachers and principals often think about social curricula in terms of discipline programs or extracurricular and structured activities in which children assume responsibility and exercise some authority. Student councils, student hall monitors, or student crossing guards are examples of activities that might be included under the social curriculum. In addition, teachers may give children classroom time to share personal problems or individual successes with their peers. Teachers might also use classroom activities to promote social goals for children. This section explores several aspects of Roosevelt's social curriculum and discusses how each supports or hinders the school's social and academic goals. Roosevelt's discipline program, however, will be addressed in a subsequent section.

Emma Winston was sensitive to the increasing rate of technological change in society and believed that schools should prepare students to adapt to change by teaching them to "learn and unlearn," to be "independent, self-reliant, able to make decisions and follow through" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 8; TI, 1/5/83, p. 1). She knew that this task was especially difficult at Roosevelt because of the nature of the school population, made up largely of children from educationally disadvantaged, transient, low-income families. Thus, she worked actively to foster positive "student attitudes towards self, towards school, towards people" and to teach students how to be cooperative, responsible members of the school community (TI, 9/7/82, p. 22).

During the school day, Winston vigorously promoted her social goals in her interactions with students, and her influence was especially felt in the cafeteria, which she supervised during the lunch hour. She said:

> Children have to be taught how to sit down and eat, how to wait their turn, and work with the cafeteria staff, because the teachers have to work with them, because there's a special routine we go through in getting the lunch forms and getting the tickets . . . . [They need to be taught] how important it is to cooperate and be there on your scheduled time, so there won't be this bottleneck in the cafeteria. And it's a learning situation. How to be a team. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 19)

Besides reminding students of appropriate behavior, the principal reinforced their efforts to comply by complimenting students who had done well (FN, 9/23/82, p. 9). At grade-level assemblies, Winston talked to students about the importance of everyone helping to make lunch go smoothly and told them they should "take pride in it, it's their own meal time" (TI, 2/16/83, p. 5).

In addition to stressing cooperation and interdependency as strategies to deal with the rapidly changing world, Winston also emphasized the importance of making students "lifelong" learners. Mini-courses, organized by the school's project director, were aimed at achieving this goal. "Our purpose . . . was to try to do some of the things the students maybe don't get to do in their classrooms and also include the reading and writing and math along with it," the project director said (I, 11/22/82, p. 5). Course topics were chosen by students and teachers, and in the past had included African art, library skills, beginning Spanish, international cooking, macrame, pottery, gardening, string art, and papier mache (TI, 9/7/82, p. 7; I, 11/22/82, pp. 4, 5). These classes encouraged enthusiasm for learning, developed students' extracurricular interests, and increased their knowledge of the world.

Winston's concern for developing positive attitudes in her students was also reflected by her efforts to convey to teachers that school should be a happy place that "sparked" something in children (TI, 2/16/83, p. 4; TI, 3/7/83, p. 6) and that it was the teacher's responsibility to make lessons interesting (TI, 3/7/83, p. 9; TI, 4/21/83, p. 5). She encouraged and supported those teachers who had creative ideas for the classroom and emphasized staff development as a way of bringing new ideas to teachers, hoping to kindle their enthusiasm and that of the students.

Teachers at Roosevelt shared Winston's concern about the importance of social goals, and although there did not appear to be an integrated social curriculum at Roosevelt, staff members indicated that they, too, worked to promote cooperation and responsible behavior in their students. Some spoke generally about teaching students to get along with each other and to respect the rights of others. Others saw their classroom rules and reward systems, discussed in the next section, as a means of implementing their social goals. Teachers mentioned using the

Heath Social Studies text for "units on self and how to treat others" (TI, 3/3/83, p. 1) and films to teach social concepts (TI, 4/21/83, p. 1). They reported arranging group discussions as well as individual conferences to facilitate social outcomes and build self-confidence (TI, 2/16/83, p. 2; TI, 5/10/83, p. 1; TI, 6/3/83, p. 1). In one example, after some children had ridiculed a fellow student's physical appearance, the teacher called the class together:

> I talked with them as a group without naming the child that they were referring to, and we just talked about feelings and how you feel when a person says things that are not kind about you. Have you ever had it done? What was your feeling? (TI, 4/21/83, p. 1)

Still another teacher used sports and organized games during the lunch hour to emphasize team cooperation and sportsmanship (TI, 3/7/83, p. 2).

The least amount of attention seemed to be given to Winston's professed goal of making students independent learners. Only one of the nine teachers who were interviewed talked about building independence. That teacher gave her students assignments that they could complete on their own and that grew progressively more difficult (TI, 5/10/83, p. 1). Although some teachers designed lessons that allowed individual initiative and creativity (FN, 2/16/83, pp. 2-10), for the most part teachers followed fairly traditional, teacher-directed approaches to instruction. And Winston seemed to reinforce this tendency through her emphasis on "time-on-task," as discussed later.

One aspect of Roosevelt's context that received special notice was the cultural diversity of its students. Winston believed that it was important for students to develop harmonious "working relationships with others, especially [students] from different backgrounds" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 22). She had arranged an in-service on "global education" for her teachers, in which she herself participated enthusiastically (FN, 1/5/83, pp. 1-5), and she had emphasized the need to obtain and share information about the Asian cultures that were new to the school (FN, 10/14/82, p. 15).

The school engaged in a number of events and instructional activities that focused on different cultures. A multicultural committee planned units for different cultural groups, which teachers could use in their social studies lessons (FN, 11/22/82, p. 7). The project director contracted ethnic dancers and musicians to perform at assemblies; for Cinco de Mayo that year, she had arranged for the visit of a mariachi band (FN, 11/22/82, p. 7). The school also participated in a "sister city" program with Japan (FN, 11/22/82, p. 7).

Roosevelt's active bilingual program enabled students to maintain their Spanish language skills and use them for instructional purposes. Winston and the bilingual teaching staff shared the belief that the bilingual program should foster positive self-concepts for students. They saw one of the advantages of using Spanish in the classroom was that it encouraged the children to "feel good about themselves" (FN, 3/23/83, p. 5).

Winston's support of bilingual and multicultural education, however, was not as wholehearted as that of many staff members. For example, the need for additional information about different cultures was ranked high by the staff, and the bilingual teachers believed that more efforts were required to improve other teachers' understanding and appreciation of their program. Winston, however, argued that the central goal of the bilingual program was to teach students English, and she commented that there may have been too much time spent in past years on nonacademic multicultural activities, such as potluck meals with ethnic themes. She was encouraging less time on such pursuits and more on "pencil and paper" activities that would also promote real learning (I, 12/1/82, pp. 5-6). Her limited support for nonacademic multicultural activities was demonstrated by the scheduling of the in-service on "global education," which was not held on a regular in-service day; consequently, attendance was voluntary and teachers had to stay late on their own time to attend (FN, 1/5/83, pp. 5-6).

This attitude on Winston's part may have been due to the size and complexity of the school and the pressure to meet the district's grade-level expectations. It may also have been influenced by her belief that fundamental concerns in the school setting cut across cultural boundaries. She thought that she had been hired as principal in the district because of her stated belief that:

> Children are children no matter the nationality. . . . Parents want the same things for their child. They all want them to be educated and educated well, to have them achieve and be successful. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 4)

Winston was sensitive to the times when students' acting like children meant that their behaviors crossed boundaries of racial tolerance, as when one child called another a "wetback." She did not consider this a racial fight, but rather a "kid fight" in which someone was "getting back at somebody and knowing that it hurts." Still, she was emphatic about not tolerating "any of that kind of foolishness" (TI, 1/5/83, p. 5) and she responded swiftly and strongly:

> We sat down and had a hard talk about that, and I had the parents in and all. We just don't do that. I mean, that was terrible. (TI, 1/5/83, p. 6)

In conclusion, Winston devoted much of her time and energy to achieving social outcomes, in particular the need for cooperation among students of diverse ethnic backgrounds that made up the Roosevelt population. In her personal supervision of the cafeteria and grounds, she directly imparted her expectations for student behavior, and she encouraged teachers to develop cooperation and positive attitudes among their students. Thus, Winston tried to make Roosevelt a school where students could learn not just academics, but the self-esteem and social skills they would need to participate successfully in modern society.

Discipline: Although the administrators and teachers in our study included discipline as an important part of a school's social curriculum, the emphasis that they placed on the topic underlies our decision to give student discipline its own section in this report. In giving prominence to the question of discipline, the participants in our study were acting in accord with opinions expressed by scholars throughout the history of American education: For example, William T. Harris (1908) linked school discipline to the "moral education" of the country's children; Abraham Maslow (1954) theorized that children had to feel secure--the consequence of being in a safe environment--before they could devote energy and attention to higher order learning; and recently, and just as emphatically, researchers of effective schools have added their voices to the continuing concern about student deportment (Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Venezky & Winfield, 1979; Wynne, 1981).

Over the noise in the cafeteria or on the playground one sound could be heard--Principal Emma Winston speaking through her bullhorn, directing students to throw away their milk cartons or to stop climbing the wrong way up the slide. So familiar an image was Winston's bullhorn that when the faculty honored her at a luncheon at the end of the year, they presented her with a papier-mache bullhorn (DD). But the image of the bullhorn did not entirely represent Winston's approach to discipline and order at Roosevelt School. Indeed, she was "in charge" of the school and liked to pitch in and direct the action; when she needed to, Winston could adopt a stern tone that left no doubt about her displeasure. But she also believed in talking with students individually, avoiding public confrontations, creating a structured and interesting learning environment to prevent problems, and providing warm, positive support for the children in her care.

Discipline rules at Roosevelt were based on district policy (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). This uniform district policy, recently developed by a committee of parents and staff, specified three categories of misbehavior and the actions to be taken in each case. Individual schools were allowed to determine their own specific rules as needed. Roosevelt had a discipline committee composed of teachers and instructional aides which met once a month to deal with discipline issues. This group developed school-specific rules such as "no third graders in the tot lot at lunch or recess."

Winston followed and enforced this discipline policy. As required, she sent a copy of it home to parents. She found that the new policy had resulted in an increased number of suspensions: "This year more students were suspended at Roosevelt in four months than all last year," she said (FN, 4/20/83, p. 11). This figure was misleading, however. Winston explained that it represented longer suspensions, i.e., not more students suspended, just more days of suspension. She felt that schools in the district were being compared and evaluated on the number of days; this put her concern for favorable evaluations of Roosevelt at odds with the need to enforce the district policy.

A considerable amount of Winston's time during the day was spent on monitoring the open spaces of the school, enforcing rules, and maintaining order and discipline. Each morning she supervised the playground, where students played between breakfast and 10 a.m. (With the school on a staggered schedule, about half the students started school at 9 a.m., the other half at 10 a.m.) Winston explained that there was no one else to supervise students during this early morning time (FN, 10/19/82, p. 6). As mentioned earlier, she also supervised the cafeteria and playground during the lunch hour:

> The assistant principal [and I] are responsible for lunchtime, not the teachers [who by contract have a duty-free lunch]. . . . Parents who are not certificated come in for only one hour. It's a big plant and when I'm in the cafeteria, [the assistant principal] is in the yard. They're big areas to cover and we have a limited number of people. (FN, 9/28/82, p. 4)

Winston used this time to teach students appropriate social behavior, as discussed previously. She tried to "talk to kids about getting along and learning to be responsible for their things" (FN, 9/28/82, p. 4).

Supervising the lunch room also required steady attention to management and logistics. Winston generally took charge of getting students in and out of the lunch room efficiently. On different days she could be seen setting out trays, directing students, keeping students moving in line, or moving parents to create more space for children. On some days it seemed to our observer as if the cafeteria were in a state of near chaos. But Winston remained calm and cool. She would greet mothers and students, and smile and chat as she directed the action (FN, 10/14/82, p. 25). She remained a model of the kind of behavior she was attempting to teach the students.

Winston was also frequently involved in disciplining individual students. As she went about her rounds, she would stop fights and arbitrate disputes. She also dealt with students who were sent to the office. She shared responsibility for disciplining with the assistant principal, who also supervised and dealt with teacher referrals. In fact, discipline was officially the domain of the assistant principal, as is traditionally the case. Several teachers reported that they sent discipline problems to him (TI, 3/7/83, p. 10; TI, 5/20/83, p. 8). He kept track of student referrals and would talk to teachers if they seemed to be sending too many (FN, 4/20/83, p. 11). But Winston herself was often directly involved in dealing with individual students. She would fill in for her assistant (FN, 10/19/82, p. 8), consult with him (FN, 10/19/82, p. 21), provide support in difficult cases (FN, 1/20/83, p. 10), and sometimes appear to overrule him (FN, 9/23/82, p. 3). Her involvement seemed to be brought about by the size of the school and the inexperience of the assistant principal, who was new to the school that year. But it was also due to Winston's nature, her inclination to be a "doer" and remain central to the functioning of the school.

When Winston dealt with discipline cases, she seemed to follow a regular routine. Frequently, if she could not solve the problem immediately, she would take the offending student with her on rounds. Winston explained the value of this "cooling-off" period as follows:

> When they walk around with me, things settle in their minds. They can also see there are other things that have to go on in the school. . . . If they've been fighting, they're cooled off and they're friends by the time I talk to them. When I sit down with them they see how foolish they've been. (TI, 4/20/83, p. 1)

Perhaps the extreme of this cooling-off period occurred one day when Winston needed to finish checking report cards. She had several students stand beside her desk for over an hour without talking while she finished her task (FN, 4/20/83, p. 10).

When the time was right, Winston did talk with students, trying to impress upon them what she desired and expected from them. She would talk to them about how they should behave in order to get along with each other and with their teachers. She saw her role as representing social values and expectations.

The third element of Winston's routine was to phone parents. While talking to a student about a serious transgression, she would phone the student's home, make contact with the parent if possible, and sometimes have the student himself explain the trouble he or she was in.

These routines, and Winston's calm, matter-of-fact, but determined approach to discipline, can be seen in the part of the Introduction called "A Day in the Life of Emma Winston," particularly in the episodes related to the theft of the calculator. Winston talked to several children individually and to the whole class in an effort to locate the missing calculator (which turned up in a rest room) and to determine who had been involved in the theft (which remained unclear). Her prime intent seemed to be to impress upon all the children the seriousness of the offense, and that such transgressions would not be dismissed lightly.

Emma Winston also tried to emphasize positive reinforcement. She would compliment students when they had behaved properly, for instance praising a class that had done well in the cafeteria (FN, 9/23/82, p. 9). She set up a contest in the cafeteria to reward the class that kept their area cleanest (FN, 3/8/83, p. 9). She held regular award assemblies at the end of each quarter to acknowledge student scholarship, attendance, and progress. In addition, students who demonstrated good citizenship were allowed to see movies and had their pictures displayed in the main hall.

These school-level actions provided a context within which individual teachers maintained classroom discipline. Winston believed that teachers were responsible for providing a structured and interesting learning environment:

> When a situation comes up with a student, I ask what the child was supposed to be doing. [Teachers] can't have a free-wheeling style and then get mad and kick them out. (FN, 4/20/83, p. 11)

She checked classes for "time-on-task" on an informal basis and noticed as she walked the halls whether students seemed to be busy (FN, 1/20/83, pp. 5-6). When one teacher seemed to be "loose," "enthusiastic with a group, but one or two in the sidelines not serious enough," she talked to him about her expectations and those she attributed to parents (FN, 1/20/83, pp. 5-6). She felt that the teacher changed his behavior.

Winston also influenced classroom discipline through the assignment of students to classes, as discussed more fully in the section on Structures and Placement. She tried to balance the number of difficult children across classes, although she would give more of these children to teachers who were more capable of handling them (FN, 4/20/83, p. 10).

When discipline problems arose, Winston expected teachers to talk to students directly and to contact parents before students were referred to the administration (FN, 4/20/83, p. 11). Teachers generally followed this policy. Of nine teachers interviewed, all discussed classroom discipline techniques; eight reported that they would contact parents; five said that they sometimes sent students to the office. Although vague on the details, teachers generally understood that when students were sent to the office they received "counseling," "warnings," and "a cooling-off period," and that Winston contacted their parents.

Classroom management techniques seemed to vary widely. Many of the teachers had classroom rules such as "staying in your seats," "no talking," "no eating," "no intentional breaking of pencils." But one teacher had only general rules (FN, 2/23/83, p. 8), and another had classroom officers and a class meeting each day, with rules established by the class as they felt necessary (FN, 3/3/83, p. 4).

Teachers had a number of techniques for dealing with misbehavior, ranging from names on the board (FN, 2/16/83, p. 6) to writing sentences at recess (FN, 3/15/83, p. 10), to involving parents in discipline by restricting home television watching (FN, 4/25/83, p. 5). One teacher caught three students chewing gum, which was against the rules, and made them take the gum out of their mouths and put it on their noses in full view of all classmates (FN, 2/9/83, pp. 4, 5). Other teachers tried to avoid confrontations or drawing attention to negative behavior. Instead, they emphasized positive expectations, praise, and various reward systems such as a point system with a reward of going out to lunch (TI, 3/7/83, p. 2; FN, 3/30/83, p. 2; FN, 5/2/83, p. 2).

In conclusion, maintaining order at Roosevelt was a large task, but one that Emma Winston tackled with her customary energy, patience, and good humor. Much of her day was spent personally supervising the school grounds and cafeteria, where she reminded students of proper behavior and settled disputes as they arose. Although the new assistant principal was taking increased responsibility for discipline, Winston handled many cases herself, exhibitng her characteristic style of letting students "cool off," then talking to them about her expectations and contacting their parents if necessary. Positive reinforcement for appropriate behavior whenever possible was another characteristic of Winston's "hands-on" approach to school discipline.

Interrelationships: An important element of the climate of schools is the nature of the interrelationships among the members of the school community: the students, staff, and parents. The quality of these day-to-day relationships may be the best evidence of the cohesiveness of a group in its commitment to the organization's goals. Positive relationships among the stakeholders in a school demonstrate fundamental agreement and satisfaction with the means and ends of the organization--agreement that has an effect on the organization's ability to carry out its mission (see Homans, 1950; Janis, 1972; Maslow, 1954; Zander, 1977).

In previous sections we have seen the social goals held for students at Roosevelt, including cooperation, teamwork, and responsibility. We have seen Winston's attempts to involve students as active participants in the school community, helping to keep things clean, operate the cafeteria efficiently, and get along with others. We have seen the range of disciplinary techniques used by individual teachers and the resultant classroom climate variations.

Missing from the picture so far has been a sense of the warmth and concern with which Winston approached students. While students clearly viewed her as a disciplinarian and supervisor (TI, 5/3/83, p. 2; TI, 5/19/83, p. 10; TI, 6/16/83, p. 2), they also felt free to chat with her as she made her rounds. The data recount numerous instances in which Winston smiled and patted youngsters, and gave and received hugs and kisses (FN, 9/23/82, pp. 10, 20; FN, 1/20/83, p. 12). The students seemed to view her in many ways as a mother.

Her concern was perhaps best evident in several examples when she went out of her way to be sure a student had lunch. In one case, a new student from out of state missed lunch. Winston asked if he needed a lunch slip and he said no. Later, when the boy realized he did need a slip, he returned, and Winston walked with him to his classroom. There she conferred with the teacher and reassured the boy that his teacher understood the situation. Finally, Winston took the boy to the cafeteria, where she coaxed an after-hours lunch out of the reluctant cafeteria workers (FN, 1/20/83, p. 12).

The staff at Roosevelt was very diverse. It included teachers in their first year of teaching and those with over 20 years of experience. About half the staff had been hired during Winston's seven-year tenure at the school; the other half predated her. Some teachers were enthusiastic and enterprising; others seemed content with familiar, routine methods of teaching. Some seemed to enjoy the children; others worked at being "in control." Emma Winston tried to be pleasant and supportive with all these people.

The core of Winston's approach to staff relations was a belief in "professionalism." She tried to be honest and fair in her dealings with people, to respect them as individuals, and to treat others as she would want to be treated herself. In return, she expected her staff to act like professionals (TI, 9/7/82, p. 4).

One aspect of Winston's professional approach to her staff was the way she closely monitored instruction. By periodically checking lesson plans and report cards, monitoring students' reading levels, and making informal classroom visits, Winston was able to keep herself informed about what teachers were doing in their classrooms.

Winston's professionalism also included the belief that she could get the most out of people by working with them and giving them all the help she could. She emphasized staff development as a way to introduce teachers to new ideas that could improve their teaching. She supported teachers in other ways, such as by helping to get materials, arranging follow-ups to in-services, and participating personally in special activities (FN, 9/8/82, p. 20; FN, 9/23/82, p. 7; FN, 12/13/82, p. 1; FN, 2/15/83, p. 1; TI, 2/16/83, p. 7; TI, 6/3/83, p. 6). And she actively involved teachers in decision making at the school, both through numerous committees and through the writing of the school's comprehensive three-year plan.

Winston tried to be considerate of her teachers, sooth feelings, and promote harmony. She would keep teachers informed about actions with individual students, often walking to the teachers' rooms to deliver messages in person (FN, 10/19/82, pp. 5, 9). Several teachers commented how she would give them positive feedback and try to improve teacher morale. They noted that she tried to "bring a point gently" (TI, 2/16/83, p. 4), that she was "encouraging" (TI, 5/10/83, p. 8), and that she would praise them for things done well (TI, 3/1/83, p. 4; TI, 4/21/83, p. 7; TI, 5/10/83, p. 7). One teacher commented that Winston understood that morale was low in the district and that she took every opportunity to "present . . . little tidbits to give you a lift" (TI, 6/3/83, p. 5).

An example of Winston's support and concern for teachers' feelings can be seen in the way she dealt with a school controversy over policy about grading students. In early November, Winston announced to teachers a new grading policy from the district which was in conflict with the grade-level guidelines of the Ginn readers and the school policy (FN, 11/23/82, p. 7). Teachers were upset because the new policy would cause more students to receive an "Unsatisfactory" rating. When Winston realized the extent of the teachers' dissatisfaction, she went around the school and talked to each teacher individually. She worked out a compromise solution whereby grading would be based on the district's grade-level expectations; the teachers could comply with the publisher's guidelines as long as they matched grade-level expectations. A list matching readers to grade levels was written on a chalkboard in the principal's office. There was still some uncertainty because the readers did not, in fact, match grade-level expectations perfectly, and Winston again talked with the teachers and tried to assuage their feelings. In this incident, Winston played the role of mediator trying both to enforce district policy and at the same time respond to the concerns of her staff.

The above incident also illustrates the importance Winston assigned to striking a balance between supporting and pushing her staff. Although strong on "human relations," she admitted that she sometimes had difficulty enforcing regulations. She commented that she did not like to be either "cruel or crude" in getting staff members to do things her way, but rather preferred the team-player approach of getting involved herself and setting an example. Some staff members felt they learned from this approach and valued Winston's model (TI, 2/16/83, p. 4; TI, 5/10/83, p. 5). Others, however, were critical of Winston's lack of firmness in promoting cooperation among the staff. They felt that Winston's approach was more form that substance (TI, 5/10/83, p. 5).

Despite the fact that Winston worked hard at creating harmony between staff members, there was little or no esprit de corps among the staff as a whole. Instead, teachers tended to group together based on interests or physical proximity. For example, the bilingual teachers and the resource teachers formed two separate groups, and the fifth-grade teachers, all of whom worked in the same wing, formed another tight-knit group. The teachers seldom ate in the lunchroom together, and a few even refused to participate on some schoolwide projects.

The clearest division, however, existed between the classroom staff and the resource staff. According to the assistant principal, there was some tension between the two groups because the resource staff controlled the movement of the children through the reading series. He indicated that classroom teachers also resented the fact that the resource teachers had more flexibility in scheduling, had fewer students, and were considered the "experts" (FN, 1/13/83, p. 10).

In addition, although there were almost equal numbers of Black teachers (36%) and White teachers (39%), there was some racial tension between the two groups. Winston claimed that some of the teachers "have that racial thing ingrained so heavy" that it created difficulties (DD). She herself had been accused of favoring Whites over Blacks, but she refused to accept this criticism and stated, "I see people as individuals and I've always been that way" (DD).

Despite the differences and divisions between teachers, however, Emma Winston saw the school as "like living in a family." "There [were] good days, and there [were] bad days," and "you work with what you have" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 20). In addition, all of the staff members agreed that in terms of keeping the "family" happy, Winston had an impossible job.

During the 1981-82 school year, staff members at Roosevelt had set out to create a new three-year comprehensive plan which would formulate staff and instructional objectives for the school, as well as specific goals for Economically Disadvantaged Youth (EDY). With the help of the district office, an assessment of the needs of students, teachers, and parents of Roosevelt School was made. One of the primary aims included increasing parent and community involvement in school activities (DD). As Winston stated:

> We're trying to involve the parents more, being straightforward with the parents. Some years ago, you did not send home the test scores. You did not confer with the parent on a lot of things. And now we do. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 10)

To achieve this goal, Winston had to work with what she had available. Roosevelt's community was characterized as having a highly transient, heterogeneous, ethnically mixed, low-income, and limited-English speaking population. Many students came from economically disadvantaged homes, where both parents were working at full-time, low-paying jobs or were unemployed. Parent involvement in Roosevelt's history had been consistently low; however, in light of their need to work, it was not necessarily due to lack of concern for their children's education.

Winston acknowledged the constraints that these social and economic factors put on the active participation in her school's activities by the parents and local community. She tested out various ways of involving the parents that were compatible with their own lifestyles and capabilities. Fundamental to her attempts was the belief that "no matter the nationality, parents wanted the same thing for their child. They all want them to be educated and educated well and to have them achieve and be successful . . . in the world" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 4).

She realized that many parents felt inadequate to instruct small groups or tutor students in class due to their own educational backgrounds or difficulties in speaking English. Therefore, Winston and her staff first approached the community through invitations to participate on committees and in meetings that dealt with issues related to students' education. Parents became actively involved in decision making through the School Advisory Committee (SAC), District Advisory Council (DAC), School Improvement Program (SIP), School Site Council (SSC), Instructional Strategy Council (ISC), and the Parent/Teacher Association (PTA). In these meetings, Winston would ask for volunteers and sometimes go so far as to appoint parents as heads of special committees or as representatives of committees for upcoming annual conferences, a method that "forcefully" overcame some of the parents' "uncalled for" reservations (FN, 10/19/82, pp. 11-15; FN, 1/11/83, pp. 1-8; FN, 3/8/83, pp. 1-14). This gave parents opportunities to exercise personal initiative and to experience the responsibilities of handling school affairs that they may have not thought they were capable of. Interpreters were sought, but not always successfully, to help translate the issues at meetings for those parents with language difficulties. One of the new policies for SAC meetings was that only EDY parents would be allowed to nominate and vote for council officers. This ruling stipulated parents' participation in the council. Winston also took full advantage of these meetings to further entice parent involvement by announcing upcoming school events and assemblies and to notify parents of students' performance on standardized achievement tests.

Winston believed that professional relationships with the community meant "being honest and treating people fairly" (DD). She eschewed political maneuverings and did not like to play power politics between the parents and local school administration. Therefore, she clearly favored the support of the School Improvement Program, which focused on curriculum development and enrichment activities, more than she did the School Advisory Committee, which she saw as too caught up in politics and administrative laws (FN, 10/19/82, pp. 15-17).

Teachers expressed discouragement over the few active parent volunteers in the school, but this did not indicate a lack of parent presence at Roosevelt. During school days, parents were often seen accompanying their children to school and picking them up from their classes. They had been allowed to sit with their children in the cafeteria through their lunch periods, although this practice was abandoned, and also to spend time with them during the recess periods on the playgrounds. Some parents assumed formal supervisory roles, while others merely attended informally as visitors. Winston encouraged this, believing that the more parents frequented the school, the more comfortable they would feel, and the more opportunities would arise for them to interact with the teachers about their children's educational progress. Parents made positive impressions conveying their concern for their children's academic achievements through their presence. Likewise, teachers responded by noticing these particular students and communicating their assessments to the parents during the school day. Some children whose parents or relatives had become active in the school or who frequently dropped in on the teacher showed considerable improvement (FN, 3/23/83, p. 7; FN, 4/25/83, p. 5).

Roosevelt's project director had the responsibility of recruiting, interviewing, and assigning parent volunteers for both classroom activities and cafeteria duties (FN, 9/23/82, p. 10). However, many of the parents were recruited by the classroom teachers themselves (FN, 9/23/82, p. 10; FN, 3/30/83, p. 12; FN, 4/13/83, p. 9; FN, 4/25/83, p. 10). The pre-school especially depended on the work of parent volunteers. Parents were requested to work with the children at least one day a week. This brought about parent interest in their children's development and school performance at an early age (FN, 4/13/83, p. 9). In fact, most of the lower-grade teachers were particularly concerned about parent involvement, seeing this time as one in which parents could contribute the most to their child's overall development.

Showing parents a way that they could best participate in the school involved a reciprocal learning process for some faculty members on how to communicate with parents. Winston emphasized that teacher attitudes toward the students and the parents in the community were of vital importance for producing a good school climate. One teacher, in particular, pointed out Winston's effect upon her ability to relate to the parents in the local community:

> For example, one word I told myself I should not use--bluntly--is "lying." And [Winston] said, they don't realize they are lying, and by the standard English, it's really lying, untruth, you know, telling a fib. So I learned to use the words, "That is not very true, not completely true, only a little bit true." It helps me to keep the situation, the confrontation more pleasant, more smooth.

> . . . [Winston] taught me some ways of revealing my ideas in a way that won't offend most of the parents. So I wouldn't show myself as if I were talking down at them. (TI, 2/16/83, pp. 3, 4)

The only formal district policy that concerned relations between the school and the community was in the area of discipline. It was a requirement that parents be informed of the discipline policy at the school and the consequences for students' violations. The principal abided by this requirement by issuing parents a letter which listed the district and school's disciplinary policy and rules at the beginning of the year. She also held a conference and back-to-school night with the parents when teachers reiterated what was expected of children and explained the grading system and homework rules (FN, 9/28/82, p. 18; FN, 3/20/83, p. 5).

Most of the teachers at Roosevelt shared Winston's concern in communicating with parents and keeping them posted on the progress of their children. They informed parents of their child's grade-level work by sending notes, making phone calls and holding conferences.

When issues surrounding a student's classroom performance arose, Winston preferred the teacher and parent to handle the affair between themselves, and she would refer the parent to the teacher. The principal commented:

> The teacher is the key person and [the parents] need to communicate with the teacher. If the parent doesn't want to talk to the teacher, I intercede. I feel that the parent and teacher should work together and would rather move the child out. (FN, 1/20/83, p. 6)

Teachers generally shared this understanding with the principal. They regarded her as the "troubleshooter" when problems arose (SFI, 4/21/83, p. 6), managing situations that the teacher couldn't deal with (SFI, 3/7/83, p. 6; SFI, 5/10/83, p. 6), setting up the goals for parents' volunteer work (SFI, 6/6/83, p. 6), and sitting in on parent/teacher conferences. Few teachers would make home visits. This appeared to be a responsibility left up to the principal for more serious cases (SFI, 2/18/83, p. 6; SFI, 3/7/83, p. 6; FN, 3/23/83, p. 7; FN, 3/30/83, pp. 8, 12; TI, 4/21/83, p. 13).

Teachers sincerely sought alternative ways of getting the attention of parents. Some teachers would send work home with students. One, for example, did this so that the parents would help their child with whatever homework problems he or she was having. At the beginning of the year, this teacher held a conference with parents to go over specific problems, reinforcing the importance of their participation at home (FN, 3/23/83, p.

7). Another teacher sent home progress reports which the parents had to sign and return (FN, 3/15/83, p. 10). Despite their efforts, both of these teachers doubted whether the parents cared that much or really helped their children with their work. A couple of teachers sent home completed work folders containing the students' work during the year, hoping that parents would note their children's progress in this way (TI, 3/7/83, p. 14; FN, 4/12/83, p. 9).

Some teachers believed that their attempts to elicit parent involvement had paid off (FN, 3/23/83, p. 7; FN, 4/25/83, p. 5). The kindergarten teacher spent a lot of time counseling one parent and reported that she had turned "180 degrees" and now worked with her daughter every night (FN, 4/25/83, p. 5). Because the kindergarten did not pass out report cards but kept a checklist as a record of the child's progress, parents came in regularly to check up on their children and see how they were doing. Often conferences were held "on the spot" whenever the parents were available (FN, 4/13/83, p. 7; FN, 4/22/83, p. 14). A second-grade teacher who had an inattentive student who was not doing his homework called his parents in for a conference. After that, the father said, "No more Atari games or bicycle. No more games until grades come up." The teacher let the boy take a book home which he read together with his father every night. In her words, "It's a miraculous transformation!" (FN, 4/2/83, p. 8).

In making daily decisions that affected the instructional curriculum of the school, Winston kept her community audience in mind. For example, she supported the district's attempt to make the curriculum texts uniform throughout the district because she realized that students moved around a lot and that it was an advantage for them to be familiar with the materials they adopted at another school (FN, 11/19/82, p. 21). She tried to honor parents' requests to have children from the same family assigned to the same classrooms or to avoid assigning a youngster to a classroom where there was conflict between the parent and teacher (FN, 9/23/82, p. 6). In initiating an afternoon kindergarten class, Winston conferred with the parents to make sure this was convenient with their own schedules (FN, 9/23/82, p. 6). There were also five full-time bilingual programs at Roosevelt (FN, 3/8/83, p. 5). ESL classes for adults and workshops to teach parents how to help their children with homework were held evenings at the school. Winston, when communicating with the community, whether it be sending out lunch applications or packets of information concerning the formal rules of the school, considered the need for having these materials translated into both Spanish and Chinese languages (FN, 9/8/82, p. 28; FN, 9/28/82, p. 19).

Furthermore, Winston supported the creation of mini-courses involving what she called "life-long learning kinds of activities" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 7). These involved teaching children library skills and hobbies such as macrame and knitting. She believed that the school had the responsibility to compensate for what her students' home and community environment lacked.

Considering the financial cutbacks that had eliminated neighborhood youth clubs, activities, parks, and recreational facilities, and the personal hardships that people in her community suffered, it was no wonder that Winston offered the suggestion that "we're asking schools to do so much and maybe we're trying to do so much and we're not doing some things well" (TI, 9/7/82, p. 7).

Nevertheless, Winston tried to involve her community as much as possible in the education of its children in order to assist their survival and future in a constantly changing American society. As one teacher put it:

> She seems to be able to reach the needs of the community, and it takes a very special person to do that. (TI, 6/3/83, p. 4)

Summary: In addressing the instructional climate at Roosevelt, Emma Winston attended to a wide range of physical and social elements. In the physical realm, Winston put a high priority on keeping the school environment clean. She believed that this effort should be shared by the entire Roosevelt community, and she spent much time training students toward this end. Concern for the physical environment went hand-in-hand with Winston's desire for students to be responsible members of the school community, to be cooperative, and to get along with others. Furthermore, because of Roosevelt's large multiethnic student body, Winston worked to teach students understanding and respect for multicultural differences.

Winston and her staff also emphasized positive reinforcement for students, and together they worked hard to foster students' self-confidence. Although well-known to students as a disciplinarian, Winston's "bullhorn" image was only part of the picture; she also provided students with warmth, nurturing, and support. Similarly, despite a diverse staff with little esprit de corps, Winston supported all of her teachers, working with them and setting an example for a team-player approach. She treated her teachers in a professional manner and expected them to act professionally in return.

Finally, despite the highly transient, ethnically mixed, low-income, and limited-English speaking population that made up Roosevelt's community, Winston tried to involve parents in the school through committees, as volunteers, and through frequent home/school communication. Moreover, she was cognizant of her community's special needs and strove to involve parents in ways that were conducive to their own lifestyles and capabilities.

Roosevelt's Instructional Organization

Instructional organization is our collective term for the technical features of instructional coordination and delivery to which the principals in our study attended. For example, when acting to improve their instructional organizations, our principals manipulated class size and composition, scheduling, staff assignments, the scope and sequence of curriculum, the distribution of instructional materials, and even teaching styles. We suggest that the instructional climate--the concept we discussed in the immediately preceding section--influences students' and staff members' feelings and expections about their schools, and that the instructional organization delivers the reality.

In this section, we describe in greater detail the instructional system of Roosevelt Elementary School, highlighting the content of instruction, class structures and teacher and student placement, pedagogy, and staff development. As in the previous section on the instructional climate, our purpose is to discuss the beliefs and activities of the principal that influence these important factors of schooling. While reading this section, it is important to recall that improving student performance on standardized tests, instilling in students a sense of community and cooperation, and giving students a well-rounded education were among the goals mentioned by Roosevelt's principal and staff.

The Content of Instruction: Curriculum, subject matter, classes, topics, texts, program, schedule, and syllabus are a confusing array of terms often used by teachers and principals to describe what is taught in their classrooms or schools. Although these terms are somewhat analogous, they are not synonymous in that they tend to blur substance, method, and organization. In this section we wish to discuss the content of instruction at Roosevelt and examine how that content was organized and determined. In so doing, we are discussing curriculum in the manner of Dunkin and Biddle (1974) who used that term as a broad concept for thinking about specific subject areas. But it was, perhaps, Dewey (1916) who best defined the content of instruction and who underscored its importance in his discussion of "subject matter":

> It consists of the facts observed, recalled, read, and talked about, and the ideas suggested, in course of a development of a situation having a purpose. . . . What is the significance . . . ?
>
> In the last analysis, all that the educator can do is modify stimuli so that response will as surely as is possible result in the formation of desirable intellectual and emotional dispositions. Obviously . . . the subject matter . . . [has] intimately to do with this business of supplying an environment. (pp. 180-181)

Roosevelt's instructional program contained a number of components, some of which were not always in harmony with one another. The school had a basic instructional program for children in all grades, a bilingual education program, which operated in six of the school's 34 classrooms, and a compensatory education program for grades K-6, which operated on a pullout basis. In addition to these, Principal Emma Winston made attempts to give students a more "well-rounded curriculum" by providing elective-style courses. Because of the conflicts sometimes arising between and among these programs (conflicts that were often further complicated by federal regulations, district policies, community demands, and staffing limitations), Winston's role in determining educational content was often that of mediating between incongruous demands.

The basic program was a typical elementary-level course of study in reading, language arts, math, and social studies. Two factors were largely responsible for determining the content of instruction in this program and in the bilingual education program as well. The first was the school's use of uniform textbook series, and the second was the district's emphasis on a set of grade-level objectives known as "grade-level expectations," which were determined by district curriculum committees (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II).

Textbooks for a particular curricular area were adopted once every five years. The process began when district committees selected three or four books for a given subject (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). Then the publishing companies would hold orientation meetings at school sites for interested faculty. After these meetings, a committee of teachers at each school in the district would choose one textbook series from among the district selections (FN, 9/8/82, p. 26).

Roosevelt had adopted schoolwide textbook series in reading, language arts, and social studies, but financial considerations had prevented the school from selecting a single series in math. Instead, one series was used for grades K-4 and another for grades 5 and 6. Students in the bilingual program used a single basal reader for instruction in Spanish. The reader was divided into four levels and had corresponding workbooks. These materials focused on language and grammar skills as well as social studies topics.

The district's grade-level expectations determined learning objectives for the areas of reading/language arts and math. At the initial faculty meeting of the school year, Winston provided teachers with a list of these grade-level expectations (FN, 9/8/82, p. 12). Then, during the year, teachers attended weekly grade-level meetings to discuss these objectives and to coordinate curriculum content and sequencing within and across grade levels (TI, 3/10/83, p. 8; TI, 3/11/83, p. 10; TI, 4/21/83, p. 11; TI, 5/10/83, p. 10; TI, 5/10/83, p. 8).

One reason for the prominence of grade-level expectations at Roosevelt was that the district had identified mastery of these objectives as essential requirements for student promotion to the next grade level (Doc., 9/16/82, n.p.). Teachers were required to maintain records of each student's progress on these skills by completing what the staff commonly referred to as "task documentation cards" (TI, 5/10/83, p. 9). Teachers were also expected to discuss both grade-level expectations and task documentation cards with parents at the school's parents' night, held each year in October.

Also, in response to the district's stress on grade-level expectations, Winston and the Roosevelt staff were beginning to develop tests that could measure mastery of these skills so that teachers could complete task documentation cards using more objective, and less judgmental, criteria (FN, 9/8/82, p. 2). And in many classrooms, the most frequent academic activity was instruction designed to move students through the district's grade-level expectations. For example, one teacher in the basic program said that he gave little attention to art and music and instead focused on instruction in math and reading (TI, 3/7/83, p. 10). Other teachers noted that when Winston spoke during grade-level meetings and when she made comments on lesson plans, she often told staff members to focus on grade-level expectations (TI, 2/16/83, p. 10; SFI, 2/18/83, p. 4; SFI, 3/7/83, p. 4; TI, 5/7/83, p. 15; SFI, 6/6/83, p. 4).

The emphasis on grade-level expectations also affected bilingual instruction. According to Winston, bilingual teachers were under pressure from district bilingual staff to concentrate on English reading, spelling, and math and therefore didn't have enough time to concentrate on Spanish instruction (FN, 11/3/82, p. 13). Indeed, the district office viewed the purpose of the bilingual program as making possible the transition of Spanish-language students into mainstream classrooms; maintaining Spanish language skills was a minor concern. As a result, the amount of time devoted to instruction in English reading and math in these classrooms increased, until by the fourth grade, bilingual classrooms had almost no instruction in Spanish (FN, 11/14/82, p. 6; FN, 3/23/83, p. 5; FN, 3/30/83, p. 6; FN, 3/30/83, p. 2; FN, 4/12/83, p. 10; FN, 5/2/83, p. 12).

This concentration on reading and math instruction was also, in part, a response to concern expressed by the district office and members of the community over Roosevelt's low scores on standardized achievement tests. Staff members had advanced a number of specific theories for these low scores. Some of these theories suggested that unaligned texts, poor instruction, or the lack of correspondence between district tests and Roosevelt's classroom instruction were responsible for poor student test performance. For example, several teachers felt that the reading series adopted by the school did not place as much emphasis on comprehension skills as did the district's standardized achievement test (FN, 1/11/83, p. 7), and the assistant principal noted that the math text used in the upper grades tended to focus too much on skills that were not tested and too little on the skills that were heavily tested (FN, 12/8/82, pp. 5-6).

Many staff members, including Winston, recognized this problem and were taking steps to correct it. For example, the assistant principal had begun working with a group of fifth-grade teachers to coordinate their instruction with the district's testing program (FN, 12/8/82, p. 8). Also, Winston felt that students should become more "test-wise" (SO, 4/20/83, p. 20), and in response, several teachers were training students in test-taking skills and giving them practice tests (FN, 4/25/83, p. 10; FN, 5/2/83, p. 12).

At least one teacher was pleased with these initiatives. After she administered the new CTBS test in the spring, she reported that students felt good about their experiences and that they said the test was "fun" and "easy." This teacher felt that making students more comfortable with tests would have an academic payoff:

> If they [students] don't feel success,. . . they aren't going to try their best. Whereas, if something's familiar, that's great. (FN, 5/2/83, p. 2).

The school's most noticeable response to low achievement test scores, however, was the compensatory education program for grades K-6. Because so many of the students at Roosevelt scored below the 50th percentile on standardized achievement tests, the school received a variety of state and federal funds. Winston and her staff had used these funds to hire a full-time project director, two reading resource teachers, and an ESL (English as a Second Language) resource teacher. The majority of teachers at Roosevelt supported the compensatory program and were glad that their children had the opportunity to receive remedial help. As one teacher said:

> Without these people [the resource teachers] I'd be lost, in a sense, because [the students] need so much help. It's such a great help to me that we have such a program. (FN, 2/23/83, p. 11)

Winston herself strongly supported the program but tempered her expectations for its success with realism, noting that "it would be almost a miracle to get all of the children at this school over the 50th percentile" in standardized achievement tests (FN, 10/14/82, pp. 3-4).

The major functions of the reading and math resource teachers were to make recommendations about instruction and curriculum to classroom teachers. More importantly, they provided additional help in instructing those students classified as Educationally Disadvantaged Youth (EDY). Seventy-five percent of Roosevelt's student population had been identified as EDY. As with all teachers in the compensatory program, the reading and math resource teachers taught students on a pullout basis. The upper-grade reading resource teacher organized her pullout instruction by meeting with all of the students who had reached the same level in the reading series. By contrast, the primary-grade reading resource teacher and the math resource teacher pulled students on the basis of particular skill deficiencies (FN, 1/11/83, p. 7; FN, 3/15/83, p. 8; FN, 3/22/83, p. 8; FN, 5/2/83, p. 11).

In addition to reading and math remediation, the compensatory program included a bilingual resource teacher who provided bilingual instruction to fifth- and sixth-grade Hispanic students. There was also an ESL resource teacher who offered ESL instruction to Asian students, for whom there was no bilingual program, and to Hispanic students who were not receiving bilingual instruction. As with the reading and math compensatory programs, the bilingual and ESL programs operated on a pullout basis. In fact, many of the students in these programs were also in the reading and math compensatory programs. As a result, some students were pulled out of their regular classrooms several times a day for various types of remedial instruction (FN, 3/22/83, p. 8), and the frequency of student pullouts sometimes led to teacher complaints (see the section on "Structures and Placement").

Despite having to spend a great deal of time coordinating instruction in basic skills areas, Winston, along with the project director, had introduced interesting and unique programs at Roosevelt in an attempt to offer students more than instruction in basic skills. The school had obtained a number of small grants for programs to provide students with an opportunity for a more "well-rounded curriculum" (FN, 11/22/82, p. 6). One of the programs was the Learning through Literature program, in which writing skills were taught by emphasizing the reading of literature. Another grant provided funds that allowed students in second, third, and fifth grades to get three free books over the year. The project director had also organized a series of mini-courses, offered for ten Thursdays during the year. The mini-courses were taught by Roosevelt's staff and included such topics as macrame, beginning Spanish, African art, international cooking, pottery, gardening, and drama (FN, 11/22/82, pp. 3-4). Grant funds had also allowed the school to hire a full-time science teacher, who enthusiastically offered students "hands-on" science lessons during regular classroom teachers' prep periods.

Despite these efforts to maintain a balanced curriculum, Winston indicated that the school had decreased the number of enrichment activities such as assemblies and multicultural programs in the past two years in order to improve student achievement in basic skills (FN, 12/1/82, pp. 5-6). And, as we shall see in the succeeding section, given the diversity of needs of the student population, even the task of providing basic skills instruction required a great deal of coordination and generated some frustration.

Structures and Placement: In the previous section, we described what was taught at Roosevelt School and why it was taught. "Structures and Placement" explains how students and teachers were dispersed in order to deliver or receive that content. By structures, we mean the classifications of social groups in schools: for example, grade levels or grade-level clusters, classes or classrooms, or skill-level groups.

Sometimes the definitions of such groups are largely dependent upon the physical spaces prescribed within the limits of a building's architecture. In that case, the composition of groups may be determined by how many youngsters fit into a space and by how many such spaces are available in a school. In other situations, groups may be more fluid, as when children move individually from classroom to classroom during a school day based on criteria such as achievement levels in various subjects (see "Pedagogy" for our discussion of within-classroom grouping).

In either case, a social context for learning is created. Cohorts of students are defined and maintained, sometimes with remarkable longevity, which can have varying impact on any member of the cohort. Students' progress can be impeded or accelerated; students may become stereotyped as "bright" or "slow" and inflexibly assigned accordingly; and teachers may develop expectations for students' capacities for learning that influence the nature of their instruction (see Brophy, 1973; Brophy & Good, 1974).

Teaching assignments are also an important element of school structure. Such assignments may be based on teachers' previous experiences, expertise, or preferences, or on administrative concerns regarding staff development, staff cohesiveness, or teachers' personalities and/or teaching styles. Bringing together specific teachers with individual students or student groups helps define the social context of instruction and influences the academic experience of children. (See Barnett & Filby, 1984; Filby & Barnett, 1982; and Filby, Barnett, & Bossert, 1982 for descriptions of how the social context of instruction influences students' perceptions and the rate at which materials are presented to students.)

The overall point is that one of the most familiar aspects of schools--classrooms containing a teacher and a group of students--is a critical factor in successful instruction. As such, the assignment of students and teachers to classrooms or their more fluid counterparts should be a primary concern of principals (Bossert et al., 1982). This section describes the role of Roosevelt's principal in these decisions.

In regard to school-level class structure, 30 of Roosevelt's 34 classrooms contained classes of students at a single grade level. In three classrooms, however, two grade levels were combined. Two of these classrooms had first- and second-grade combinations; the other combined third and fourth graders. In addition, Roosevelt had a self-contained special education classroom that served students from grades one to six.

For the most part, students received all of their instruction in these self-contained classrooms. The major exception to this rule occurred during instruction in reading. Sometime prior to our study, several Roosevelt staff members, including Winston, had participated in a district-level workshop on instructional strategies. Winston brought back from this experience the idea of departmentalizing the reading program at Roosevelt (FN, 9/8/82, p. 9). Based on this idea, staff at the school worked on a plan to teach students reading according to their particular levels in the basal reader. As a result of this plan, students might receive reading instruction in a classroom other than their own. Consequently, any one teacher could concentrate instruction on fewer reading levels than would be the case in self-contained classrooms.

At the time of our study, school policy encouraged teachers with more than four reading groups in their classes to send students to other classrooms. Many teachers followed this policy (FN, 2/23/83, p. 1; FN, 3/23/83, p. 3), but full-scale departmentalization occurred only in the fourth and fifth grades. One fifth-grade teacher explained:

> We in the fifth grade . . . decided that you can't really accomplish enough having the six or seven reading groups that you would have, and so what we do is . . . team teach for reading so that . . . I only have two levels, which means you can spend a lot more time with the two levels. (TI, 3/7/83, p. 15)

This cross-classroom exchange of pupils required extensive coordination on the part of participating teachers. Because students were tested every one to one and a half months, regrouping and reassignment of students took place frequently (FN, 3/3/83, p. 1; FN, 3/30/83, p. 1). Winston recognized that this form of grouping "required a lot of dynamics to be worked out," but she felt that the plan allowed more concentrated planning by teachers (FN, 9/82/82, pp. 9-10).

Yet, not all of the staff at Roosevelt felt comfortable with this plan, which was implemented to only a limited degree at other grade levels. In explanation, one teacher who had dropped out of a departmentalized arrangement said:

> I saw my whole class . . . had moved up [so that] my whole class was up to grade level. Why should I bother to teach [lower levels when] . . . I don't have those levels in my class? . . . So I thought for the benefit of my own particular [class] it would be better for me to pull out from [the] team. (TI, 2/16/83, pp. 1, 8)

The assistant principal also expressed reservations about the plan, arguing that the "trading" of students wasted time as students moved from classroom to classroom and got organized (I, 12/8/82, p. 7).

The other important type of school-level grouping was associated with Roosevelt's large pullout, compensatory education program. Because of the size of this program, most teachers had a large number of students pulled out of regular classroom instruction during the week. For example, in one fifth-grade class, two students went to ESL instruction for an hour every day, one student went to the bilingual resource teacher every day, ten students went to math lab every week, and, depending on the reading skill being taught by the reading resource teacher, a certain number of students were required to leave the classroom for compensatory reading instruction every day for two weeks at a time.

Reaction to this frequent pullout schedule varied. Although virtually all staff members felt the compensatory program was valuable, many acknowledged certain problems. Winston, for example, reported that when the math resource program began operating, the resource teacher would say, "Send me the kids who need this [skill]." Winston continued:

> Well, so many kids needed it and it ended up with 30 kids in the room. And I said, you can't work with 30 kids. And then, for example, she had 20 kids from one room just sitting there. That's not the idea, to give a person another prep. . . . So I think we're working through some of the scheduling. And it's not easy--having all the kids. (I, 1/5/83, p. 2)

Several teachers also mentioned coordination problems. One teacher stated:

> Sometimes it's hard to get a handle on who's here and who isn't in regard to what I want to present for what particular moment. (FN, 2/9/83, p. 5)

Other teachers were concerned about not having the time to reteach the skills that the children in these programs had missed (FN, 3/15/83, p. 8) or about the amount of time that reteaching these students took away from other students (FN, 3/23/83, p. 4). Thus, teachers found themselves having to accommodate the pullout schedule, sometimes by doing review and enrichment the following day rather than attempting something new. Other times, teachers simply made the children responsible for what they had missed (FN, 2/23/83, p. 1; FN, 3/22/83, p. 8; FN, 3/23/83, p. 4).

Most of the teaching staff at Roosevelt had been working at the school site for several years--the average teacher had 6.8 years experience at Roosevelt (IOI, 3/22/83, Part III)--and thus were comfortably settled into their classroom teaching assignments. For experienced teachers, Winston determined staff assignments each spring by asking the teachers to submit their grade-level preferences for the coming year.

There were, however, several new staff members at Roosevelt during the year of our study, including four teachers and an assistant principal (IOI, 3/22/83, Part III). And in contrast to the process in regard to experienced teachers, the assignment of new staff was a matter often complicated by racial, program, and policy constraints. For example, during her tenure as principal at Roosevelt, Winston had hired almost half of the current staff (IOI, 3/22/83, Part III). Although Winston insisted that a teacher's qualifications were the primary considerations in her staffing decisions, some of the older teachers had criticized her for preferring White teachers over Black ones. Winston had denied this charge, saying, "I see people as individuals, and I've always been this way" (DD). Yet as a result of hiring practices, the staff at Roosevelt had become more integrated.

Winston's major staffing problems occurred in the bilingual program. Roosevelt's program, which Winston had built from the ground up (TI, 5/2/83, p. 13), was five years old. During the year of our study, two of the four new teachers at the school were bilingual teachers, who occupied two newly created positions. One of the teachers was assigned to the bilingual kindergarten classroom, the other to the bilingual first grade. One of the problems Winston faced in building and staffing the bilingual program was that the number of students eligible for the program far exceeded the available spaces in bilingual classrooms (SO, 11/3/82, pp. 1-2).

In the opinion of the project director, Roosevelt "could probably have more bilingual classrooms," but increasing the number of bilingual teaching staff could occur only by decreasing the number of regular classroom teachers, and "What can you do? Boot all of [the regular classroom teachers] out and have just bilingual classes here?" (TI, 11/22/82, p. 9). The project director also noted that the district had not been particularly supportive of Winston's efforts to build a bilingual teaching staff.

Winston's efforts to secure new staff were entangled in a web of complex district personnel procedures. On the first day of school, for example, three new bilingual teachers were at the school. But one of these teachers had been assigned to the school only temporarily and left after a week; the other was granted permission to transfer and also soon left. Winston was visibly upset by these personnel changes, especially because the personnel office had failed to consult her about the changes before school opened (FN, 9/8/82, p. 27). In addition, Winston faced a number of bureaucratic obstacles when trying to hire instructional aides for classrooms. Some classroom teachers, for example, did not have aides assigned to them until the third grading period of the year due to a complex set of hiring procedures worked out by the district and the union in response to cutbacks in federal funding. Although teachers recognized that Winston was doing her best, the delays caused by these procedures were so complex that many teachers and aides at Roosevelt felt frustrated and confused (SO, 4/20/83, p. 12).

Winston also faced staffing problems when substitute teachers were needed at Roosevelt. There was not much staff absenteeism at Roosevelt, but when teachers were absent, the district personnel office assigned substitutes. During the year we studied Roosevelt, two upper-grade teachers were undergoing physical therapy and were periodically absent. In Winston's opinion, the substitutes sent by the district office as replacements were not strong teachers (FN, 1/20/83, p. 6), and whenever any substitutes were teaching at Roosevelt, Winston carefully monitored their activities by making sure that they received and were following lesson plans and by briefly observing their teaching (FN, 10/11/82, p. 2; FN, 1/20/83, p. 20).

An important and ongoing responsibility assumed by Winston was the assignment of students to classrooms. Claiming that "placing students is a sensitive thing," Winston handled classroom assignments for both the 27 regular classrooms and the six bilingual classrooms (TI, 9/23/82, p. 7). She took on these responsibilities because, if problems arose, she "would be the one getting the phone calls from the parents" (TI, 9/23/82, p. 7).

The process of assigning students to regular classrooms began in the spring when teachers filled out student profile cards--small cards that contained academic and social information on students. At each grade level, teachers then met and sorted these cards into groups of high-, medium-, and low-achieving students. Using these "piles" of cards, Winston then sorted students into classrooms. Her goal was to create classroom groups that were heterogeneous according to academic ability, sex, and ethnicity. As she said:

> The main thing is hetereogeneous grouping . . . not all fast or all slow. . . . [Then] we look at combinations to see if they'll work; a balance of boys and girls, ethnicity. (TI, 9/23/82, pp. 16-17)

This early sorting and assignment of students was seldom stable. It changed in September and during the course of the year. As Winston said:

> Many times it doesn't work out. I'll make up a class list and come September, it's a totally different picture. Children transfer out, new children come in. [Also] if during the year we find it isn't jelling or for some other reason I need to make some switches, then I do. (TI, 9/23/82, p. 16)

For example, at the beginning of the year Winston changed childrens' classroom assignments to accommodate parent requests. Parent conferences could determine whether children were placed in the morning or afternoon kindergarten class, in classes with relatives, or in (or out of) the classroom of a particular teacher (FN, 9/23/82, pp. 9, 19; FN, 4/13/83, p. 13). Later in the year, Winston sometimes changed students' classroom assignments if she felt that the student and teacher were mismatched (TI, 5/7/83, p. 4).

However, parental preferences and harmonious student/teacher matches were not the major sources of classroom assignment problems for Winston. Far more time-consuming and difficult to resolve were the problems created by the combined effects of a clause in the teachers' contract concerning maximum class size, the high mobility of students at Roosevelt, and the school's overcrowded conditions. According to the teachers' contract, class sizes had to be held to a maximum of thirty-one students (TI, 9/7/82, p. 21). But because the school was operating at nearly full capacity in some grades, new transfers into the school often put some classrooms above the stipulated maximum. When this happened, Winston was sometimes forced into a chain of reassignments that involved moving not just a single student, but larger groups.

To respond to these assignment dilemmas, which continued throughout the year due to Roosevelt's high rate of student transiency, Winston had developed a strategy of maintaining class size in certain classrooms below the maximum so that there would be a place for newcomers. She designated these classrooms "pivotal" classrooms (FN, 10/19/82, pp. 4-5). But even this strategy did not prevent Winston from having to make major rearrangements in student assignments late in the academic year. For example, as late as April, a large influx of Southeast Asian students into Roosevelt caused Winston to create a new class of fifteen students composed mostly of Southeast Asian students. Her choice of this particular grouping was dictated primarily by available space--only a small classroom was vacant at the school site--and by educational considerations--she felt the small class size would allow the Asian students to receive more individualized attention (FN, 4/20/83, p. 3).

Equally complicated was the assignment of students to bilingual classrooms. Winston found it difficult to conform to federal regulations and, at the same time, to work within the staffing constraints that she faced. According to federal rules, grades having more than ten students who shared a common language other than English and were not proficient in English were required to have a bilingual classroom (FN, 11/23/82, p. 8). Federal rules also required that parent permission be obtained before students were placed in classrooms and that the classrooms be "balanced" in terms of their student composition. That is, at least 60% of the students in a bilingual classroom had to be of limited-English proficiency, but classrooms could not be composed exclusively of these students (FN, 9/27/82, p. 14).

At Roosevelt, however, based on the results of the district's official classification test, over 500 students had been classified as having limited proficiency in English (FN, 11/3/82, pp. 1-2)--far too many for the six bilingual classrooms at Roosevelt to serve. In addition, all of the teachers in bilingual classrooms were certified in Spanish only, and the growing number of students speaking Asian languages was not served by bilingual classrooms (TI, 11/22/82, p. 9).

Because of these complications, the assignment of students to bilingual classrooms occupied a considerable amount of Winston's and the staff's time. At the beginning of the year, when Winston placed students in bilingual classrooms, she tended to choose those Hispanic students whom teachers had identified as needing the bilingual program (TI, 11/22/82, p. 4). The English-speaking students placed in bilingual classrooms were selected from among the best students at Roosevelt so that students with limited English skills would have "good models" (FN, 9/23/82, p. 6). As a next step, the school sent out parental consent forms (FN, 9/27/82, p. 3). Changes in assignments to bilingual classrooms were also made later in the year. During September, the bilingual resource teacher administered the district's classification test, and in October, Winston altered her assignments to bilingual classrooms based on test results and teacher recommendations (FN, 11/3/82, p. 1).

A number of staff felt that the changing assignments of students at Roosevelt created problems. For example, a teacher who was carrying more students than the contract called for described the problems she had experienced after the newly immigrated Asian students mentioned above were assigned to her class. The school had no bilingual classroom for these students, who spoke no English, and the large size of the class prevented the teacher from giving these children individualized attention. Thus, she said, the students were just "warm bodies" in her classroom (FN, 12/1/82, p. 1). Some time passed before Winston managed to resolve this problem by creating the new class for these Asian students. Another teacher complained of a lack of coordination when students were shifted from room to room. For example, when she took a student from another classroom into her class, she did not receive the student's records. She complained:

> That's what makes me sick about this school--you have to run down . . . the records and things from that classroom. All I had was the [child's] first name. (FN, 4/22/83, p. 2)

Winston recognized these problems, noting that:

> [When] you're shifting children around because [of] the contract . . . the children lose out. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 21)

The academic progress of students at Roosevelt was monitored in a variety of ways. Two visible indicators for the evaluation and promotion of students were student scores on the CTBS, a standardized achievement test administered by the district, and student grades on the quarterly report cards issued by the school. These were the primary means by which the staff communicated student progress to parents and the community. Student performance was also evaluated using criterion-referenced tests based on the school's math and reading texts. These tests were important to classroom and resource teachers because they were used to assign students to instructional groups and to assess mastery of learning objectives. Finally, most staff at Roosevelt used a third indicator of student progress--their own holistic and informal observations of students.

Student scores on standardized achievement tests were a major concern for Winston and her staff. In part, this was because CTBS scores determined students' eligibility for the compensatory education program in grades 4-6, which was funded exclusively by Chapter 1 funds. Moreover, CTBS scores were used to evaluate the entire compensatory education program in the school each year. Finally, standardized test scores were important at Roosevelt because they were highly publicized in the Hawthorne District.

Both the district office and the local community were concerned about the low test scores, not only at Roosevelt, but also at other low-income schools in the district. A prominent and politically powerful community organization was pressuring the Hawthorne school board to dismiss principals whose schools scored below the 50th percentile on standardized tests, and the district had recently declared as one of its major goals for the year that no school should score below the 50th percentile on standardized tests (FN, 10/14/82, pp. 3-7; FN, 1/11/83, p. 4; FN, 1/20/83, p. 4; FN, 2/15/83, pp. 5-8).

In this politicized context, Winston and her staff closely monitored CTBS scores. The project director at the school had initiated her own study of how well Roosevelt's EDY students were performing on the CTBS, an investigation that was much more detailed than that provided by the district's evaluation staff (FN, 1/11/83, p. 1). Winston and the project director also periodically checked to see how many EDY students had moved from one quartile to the next on the CTBS test (FN, 1/5/83, p. 2). Finally, Winston carefully examined the CTBS item analysis prepared by the district's evaluation staff in order to assess the progress students were making in attaining skills related to the district's grade-level expectations.

Inspection of test results almost always indicated that the majority of Roosevelt's students were doing poorly on standardized tests. As a result, a number of actions were being taken to remedy the situation. One of the most important of these was a change in the CTBS test form used at the school. Winston and some staff members believed that "the new CTBS [form] will help because there are more specified objectives" in line with the school's curriculum (SO, 4/20/83, p. 13; FN, 5/2/83, p. 13).

Nevertheless, the amount of pressure applied by external sources to improve student test performance did not prevent Winston and her staff members from recognizing that test scores were not "the only outcomes" to be sought (FN, 9/7/82, p. 22). As one teacher said:

> Don't ask me about testing. I look at the child and I watch the child's growth. (TI, 5/10/83, p. 3)

Thus, although standardized test scores were important at Roosevelt, other evaluation methods were used. Day-to-day evaluations of student learning, especially in reading and math, were measured by students' performance on criterion-referenced tests. For example, the Ginn 720 reading series used in the school was divided into reading levels, with one book corresponding to each level. Within levels, chapters in each book covered specific skills. The reading series came with two types of criterion-referenced tests, chapter tests and summary tests. Classroom teachers administered the chapter tests and used these to monitor student progress within reading levels. Mastery tests to determine whether students had mastered all the skills at a particular reading level were administered by the resource teachers. For Winston and many teachers, these tests were an important indicator of student academic performance (TI, 5/3/83, p. 7; TI, 5/7/83, p. 2; TI, 5/23/83, p. 2). The principal compared the reading group lists submitted by teachers and checked the resource teachers' records of mastery tests twice a year (IOI, 3/22/83, Part I). One teacher noted:

> I'm very, very happy about my . . . kids. Some . . . have moved three, four levels, and Tina--that's my heart--she has come from level one all the way up to seven. (TI, 5/10/83, p. 4)

A similar criterion-referenced evaluation system was used in math. Here, pre- and post-tests were used to assess student mastery of each unit in the math texts used by the school (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). One teacher noted in explanation:

> In math . . . as [students] progress, they're given mastery tests to see if they've mastered that material before they move on to another skill, and if they have not, then that's retaught until they do master the skills. (TI, 6/3/83, p. 9)

Unit tests in math were administered by classroom teachers because the school had only one math resource teacher.

Unlike the basic program, which employed a number of different tests to assess student progress in reading and math, the bilingual program lacked both standardized and criterion-referenced tests to measure student progress in the acquisition of Spanish-language skills. For example, although Roosevelt school administered a Spanish-language version of the CTBS to students in the bilingual program, this test was administered in the fall of each year and covered skills students had not yet studied. As a result, it was not used to assess student progress in Spanish (FN, 4/22/83, p. 13; FN, 5/2/83, p. 6). At the same time, the basal reader for Spanish-language instruction did not contain criterion-referenced tests for use in assessing student mastery or placing students in reading groups. Students were therefore placed in Spanish-language reading groups on the basis of teacher observation (FN, 5/2/83, pp. 6, 13). One teacher expressed her frustration with the lack of assessment systems in the bilingual program:

> If you look in the cumulative folders, there is no bilingual profile card or anything--just the BSM test [the district 's bilingual placement test], and that's it. . . . [We're] winging it, almost. (FN, 5/2/83, p. 13)

Plans to rectify this problem were in the making (FN, 5/2/83, p. 6), but nothing had been done at the time of our study.

In addition to the standardized and criterion-referenced tests, student academic performance was recorded on the report card sent home to parents four times a year. Winston took report cards very seriously, and each quarter, she personally reviewed each card. She used this opportunity to ensure that teachers were following the school's grading policy (TI, 3/7/83, p. 12) and to question teachers about what they were doing to help students with low grades (TI, 4/21/83, p. 9; TI, 5/6/83, p. 9). In addition, Winston had arranged for the school to have a shortened day when report cards were released so that parents could come to the school to pick up the cards and speak to teachers. About 70% of the parents availed themselves of this opportunity (TI, 9/7/82, p. 13).

Although Winston saw report cards as important indicators of student achievement, Roosevelt's grading policy occasioned a great deal of controversy. According to district policy, students performing below grade level could not receive a grade higher than "N" (needs improvement) on their report cards. For teachers at Roosevelt, this policy presented a problem, especially in the area of reading. In this subject, Roosevelt's teachers were supposed to equate students' assigned levels in the schoolwide reading text with district grade-level expectations in reading. However, the district's grade-level expectations in reading were higher than the publisher's grade-level guidelines for assigning students to reading levels. This lack of alignment upset teachers because even if they followed the publisher's guidelines, district policy dictated that they assign a great many "N" grades to Roosevelt students.

This disjunction was not resolved until after Winston had taken several actions. First, she personally spoke to each staff member. Then she held a meeting at which disgruntled teachers and the school project director worked out a relationship of reading levels to grade-level expectations (SO, 11/23/82, p. 8; FN, 1/11/83, p. 6).

The district grading policy also confused some parents, several of whom complained to Winston (FN, 1/11/83, p. 5; FN, 2/15/83, p. 6). The major problem was that during the quarter, teachers tended to assure parents that their children were making good academic progress; thus, when a child received an "N" grade at the end of the report period, his or her parents were surprised. Whenever parents complained about grades, Roosevelt staff patiently explained the school's grading policy, and Winston encouraged parents to come to school the day report cards were issued in order to talk to teachers about their child's academic progress. Despite these efforts, it was clear that the grading policy was a source of confusion to some parents.

There were also similar problems with the district's policy on promotion and retention. The policy dictated that a student must be retained--once in the third grade and once in the fifth grade--if he or she had not met grade-level expectations at those times. However, the policy also stipulated that a student must be promoted to junior high if he or she would turn thirteen years of age by September of the coming school year (SO, 1/20/83, p. 7; IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). The second rule made it impossible to retain students twice in the elementary grades.

Despite this inconsistency, the new policy had made "social promotion" less common than it had been at Roosevelt (DD). Nevertheless, retentions were comparatively rare. One teacher, for example, noted that of the nine students he had recommended for retention, only two were actually retained. The rest were promoted because of their ages (TI, 3/7/83, p. 2). This same teacher noted that retentions required a tremendous amount of paperwork and numerous parent conferences, and that many teachers were beginning to automatically pass students on to the next grade level rather than engage in unsuccessful attempts to retain overage students. Winston also de-emphasized retention and preferred to use "early intervention" as a means for dealing with student achievement problems (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). As she said:

> We have to have intervention strategies all along the way. There's a process. . . . You look at some intervention strategies to see what you can do to alleviate the problem, and if all these things are not done, you can't hold the child back. (FN, 9/26/82, p. 15)

Pedagogy: Lortie (1975) wrote about the ideals of teachers:

> Teachers favor outcomes for students which are not arcane. Their purposes, in fact, seem to be relatively traditional; they want to produce "good" people--students who like

> learning--and they hope they will attain such goals with all their students. . . .
>
> We find that the goals sought by teachers cannot be routinely realized. Their ideals are difficult and demanding: exerting moral influence, "soldering" students to learning, and achieving general impact presume great capacity to penetrate and alter the consciousness of students. (pp. 132-133)

In his words, we glimpse the essence of teaching, the ideals to which men and women of that profession largely aspire. Lortie's statement also confronts us with the fact that teachers' goals for students are difficult to achieve. In this light, those things which teachers do in their classrooms, the activities or tasks they lead and in which they involve students become critically important.

The variety of strategies and materials used by teachers is remarkably small given the diversity of students and contexts in which they work. Further, we can ascertain from historical chronicles and archival representations that the delivery of instruction has changed little over the centuries. Despite the aspirations of philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, and radical educators (Mayhew & Edwards, 1936; Neill, 1960; Skinner, 1948; Smith & Keith, 1971) and the advent of a variety of audiovisual technologies, instruction remains predominately whole-group and teacher-directed.

The range of pedagogic diversity that does commonly occur in schools was captured by Bossert (1979) in only three categories:

> Recitation--An activity that involves the whole class or a large group of children in a single task: The children listen to the question the teacher asks, raise their hands, wait to be recognized, and give an answer . . . the teacher usually controls the flow of questions and answers.
>
> Class Task--Worksheets, tests, math assignments, or other tasks assigned to the entire class.
>
> Multitask--Usually includes tasks like independent reading, small group and independent projects, artwork, and crafts. These activities involve the greatest amount of pupil choice in organizing and completing the work. (pp. 44-45)

The choice of instructional strategy seems to depend on many factors. In attempting to construct a model of classroom teaching, Dunkin and Biddle (1974) noted that the instructional approach selected by teachers is influenced by their formative and training experiences and by their own psychological "properties" (p. 40). In addition, as in our own conception (see Figure 1, p. v), they noted the importance of context variables such as community, school size, student ethnic composition, etc. on classroom practice. (For further examples, see Dwyer, Smith, Prunty, & Kleine, in press, a case study of contextual impact on an educational innovation.) Finally, Dunkin and Biddle have underscored the importance of the students--important partners in any instructional task:

> Most systems for studying teaching have concentrated on teacher behavior, assuming, reasonably, that much of the success of teaching is in the teacher's hands. . . . Are these presumptions adequate? Surely teachers not only induce but also react to pupil behavior. . . . In some ways, therefore, teacher behavior is also a function of pupil behavior, and the success of the teaching enterprise rests with pupils as well as with teachers. (p. 44)

The purpose of our study, of course, is to look beyond the teacher and his or her students and examine the role of the principal in the leadership and management of instruction. This section typifies the pedagogy employed at Roosevelt Elementary School and seeks to explain the instructional patterns that we found by relating them to student, teacher, principal, and other contextual factors.

Roosevelt had no official policy dictating teaching techniques; consequently, Winston allowed her teachers to choose their own instructional strategies. Most, however, used the traditional method of lecture, recitation, and seatwork (FN, 2/23/83, p. 3; FN, 3/3/83, p. 5; TI, 3/7/83, p. 4; FN, 3/15/83, p. 3; TI, 5/6/83, p. 1; TI, 5/10/83, p. 2). As one fifth-grade teacher explained:

> I usually like to present everything myself in front of the room. . . . I find that it helps me a lot to explain in front of the class usually what I expect done, take any questions then, and have the children work individually. (TI, 3/7/83, p. 5)

Although all of the teachers we observed used this method to one degree or another, teachers' comments indicated that they were aware of and appreciated their autonomy. One teacher stated:

> You're given a curriculum that you are to instruct in your classroom; she [Winston] doesn't come and say you should do it this way--she leaves it to you as a staff member to

> be trained in this field, to know how to implement your program. She lays the program out to you--this is what I expect, this is what the district expects--and she leaves it to you to implement it into the classroom, because there are no two staff members that have the same teaching [style]. (TI, 4/21/83, p. 5)

Another said:

> You get your guidelines, you have your list from downtown, you have your documentation task cards, you've got your CTBS testing skills that [the students] need to master and all that, [but] as far as specifically what you do, I think that's still left up to the teacher. (TI, 3/7/83, p. 9)

Teachers sometimes modified traditional methods by employing other strategies. One commented:

> What I try to do in teaching . . . is to try to incorporate many different ways of presenting the same material. I do it orally, I do it on the board, we do lots of examples, and with the examples go the gestures, and we practice. (TI, 5/6/83, p. 1)

Some teachers used "peer teaching," in which students were assigned teammates to whom they went for help or information (FN, 2/9/83, p. 10; FN, 2/16/83, p. 5); one allowed her students to work at "math centers" after they had completed their regular work (FN, 2/9/83, p. 10).

As an instructional leader, Winston supported her teachers' efforts to improve their teaching, and she monitored them to ensure that they were teaching the curriculum effectively. She identified staff development (which will be treated in the following section) as her primary means of improving the quality of teaching at Roosevelt. "People are doing or have been doing what they know how to do," she said, "and unless you have additional training, maybe the improvement won't be there" (TI, 9/7/82, pp. 16-17). She considered in-services as opportunities to give teachers new strategies to work with the children (TI, 1/5/83, p. 4).

Monitoring her teachers was the other means Winston used to influence instructional strategies. Along with formal evaluations, she frequently "dropped in" on classes to observe her teachers. "I try to do some [observations] every day," she said, spending up to 15 minutes in each (TI, 1/20/83, p. 5). After the observations, Winston usually talked to her teachers. One teacher noted:

> We talk about the way the lesson is presented, and she might ask me about particular children in the classroom. Whenever she comes to observe a lesson, we always talk about the lesson and what went on and so on. (TI, 5/6/83, p. 9)

She also made suggestions to teachers at staff meetings and at in-services.

Once a month, Winston inspected lesson plans to make sure that all academic areas were being covered and that district grade-level expectations were being met (FN, 11/17/82, p. 1). Following these examinations, she gave her teachers written feedback. As one teacher explained:

> You turn your lesson plan books in; she writes you little notes into that--if she feels you're doing something wrong. (TI, 4/21/83, p. 6)

Winston also checked report cards each time they were issued, and four times a year, she looked over a progress report from the reading specialist.

It was rare that Winston employed more forceful methods of classroom intervention. In one case, however, she stepped in when she felt one of her teachers was too "loose." She believed that the teacher didn't have enough structure in his classroom and talked to him about organizing his instruction more effectively (FN, 1/20/83, pp. 5-6).

Despite Winston's efforts, however, teachers seemed to be divided as to how much Winston or her ideas had influenced their teaching techniques. Some of the teachers felt that Winston had not greatly altered what they did in their classrooms (TI, 3/1/83, p. 5; TI, 4/21/83, p. 7; TI, 5/10/83, p. 5). As one teacher said, "Probably I would do the same thing if she weren't here" (TI, 3/1/83, p. 5). Others reported that they "learned a lot" from Winston and appreciated her support (TI, 5/1/83, p. 5; TI, 5/10/83, p. 4; TI, 6/3/83, p. 4). One teacher, for example, said that Winston "pushed" her and helped her to be "more aggressive" (TI, 5/10/83, p. 4).

Many cited factors other than Winston as having influenced their teaching styles. Some reported that they adjusted their styles according to student feedback. One fifth-grade teacher commented:

> I look for feedback . . . from the kids. If there's something we do that they seem to enjoy, I'll try to do it again and keep it going. (TI, 3/7/83, p. 6)

Similarly, a third-grade teacher mentioned:

> Some things I know automatically work. But [sometimes] I try out a new approach, especially if the way I presented something, the majority of kids still didn't get it. (TI, 5/6/83, p. 4)

Teaching styles were also affected by the teachers' beliefs about children or learning. Many teachers emphasized praising children, encouraging them to do better, making learning fun, or accepting children exactly the way they were (TI, 4/21/83, p. 3; TI, 5/10/83, p. 2). One fourth-grade teacher described her beliefs and style as follows:

> You really have to get down to the soul of people in order to teach them. You have to find out what their gut feelings are and work from that. (TI, 6/3/83, p. 3)

The resource teachers played an active role in changing or improving teaching techniques. They provided workshops, materials, and, according to one teacher, "anything that you need" (TI, 3/1/83, p. 9). One teacher reported:

> [The resource teachers] have meetings with us . . . on materials and reinforcement materials they can get for us . . . and they just talk about different approaches and different things that they've learned. (TI, 4/21/83, p. 14)

Teachers often went to the resource teachers for specific materials or ideas. One said she turned to them whenever her "way of teaching isn't working out" (TI, 3/17/83, p. 17). Several teachers had found that the math resource teacher was a particularly valuable source of assistance. One teacher had sought the math resource teacher's help when teaching a lesson about money (TI, 3/1/83, p. 11); another said:

> I think the math resource teacher has a lot to do with what's happening in classrooms as far as math, because she works a lot with the children. (TI, 4/21/83, p. 10)

Roosevelt's teachers also cooperated with their colleagues to improve teaching. The fifth-grade teachers, for example, worked very closely together, meeting daily in one of the teachers' classrooms to discuss their classes; in addition, they met once a month after school away from the premises to discuss "anything that needed to be discussed" (FN, 3/3/83, p. 10).

The school's homework policies were determined by individual teachers in accordance with district guidelines. Students in the lower grades were assigned about 20 minutes of homework each night; students in grades four through six were assigned 20 minutes of homework per subject in reading, math, and other areas. Teachers had the option to assign homework over the weekend (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II).

In practice, teachers' homework policies varied considerably, and Winston left homework monitoring up to her teachers (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). However, she was aware of the importance of homework. At a faculty meeting early in the school year, she reminded teachers that they should go over their homework rules with parents at Back-to-School Night (FN, 9/28/82, p. 18). And when she monitored report cards, Winston made notes on which students were not doing their homework and had poor study skills (FN, 2/15/83, p. 6).

One third-grade teacher, who was quite strict about homework, kept her students in during recess or made them "write sentences" if they failed to do their homework; she said that at first, many parents had complained about the amount of homework she assigned, but that later in the year only one parent complained. She attributed the parents' initial reaction to the fact that their children's previous teachers had not assigned much homework (FN, 3/15/83, p. 10). A kindergarten teacher gave her children homework every night. She also encouraged parents to work with their children five or ten minutes each night, even providing materials for parents to pick up and take home. She noted that "most of the parents in kindergarten really like to help, and they love coming in and getting materials" (FN, 4/25/83, p. 7). Other teachers reported that they worked with parents to monitor or assist their children in doing their homework (FN, 3/23/83, p. 7; FN, 4/25/83, p. 5; FN, 5/2/83, p. 8).

Decisions regarding within-class grouping, unlike homework, were more often determined by district policies. The need to comply with district grade-level expectations prompted many Roosevelt teachers to group students according to ability for instruction in reading and math. The most prominent example of grouping at Roosevelt (as described in the section on school-level class structure) occurred in reading, where teachers with more than four reading groups in their classes were encouraged to exchange groups with other classes at the same grade level. Winston supported this practice because she believed that departmentalizing the reading program at Roosevelt would increase student academic performance (FN, 9/8/82, p. 9). Implementation, however, was left up to the teachers and varied widely throughout the school. The program was used most extensively by the fourth- and fifth-grade teachers.

For reading instruction, students were divided into groups based on their level in the Ginn series, and their progress was measured by chapter tests, given by the teachers, and mastery tests at the end of each level, given by the reading resource specialists. Series levels were correlated to grade levels, and a timeline indicated when students should accomplish each level during the school year.

Students were group-paced, but students who did not pass the test the first time were either given time to retake the test or given reading instruction in another class that had a group at the appropriate level (FN, 9/8/82, p. 25; FN, 3/23/83, p. 5). Children who were advancing more rapidly than others in the group could take the tests early if their teacher made a request to the reading specialist. According to the assistant principal, the reading specialist's control of student movement through the reading program was the source of some tension between teachers and the specialist (FN, 1/13/83, p. 10).

In conclusion, pedagogy at Roosevelt was characterized by a high degree of teacher autonomy; teachers chose their own strategies, and most tended toward traditional, whole-group instruction. Winston supported her teachers' efforts to improve their teaching and monitored their instruction, making suggestions and ensuring that effective instruction was taking place. The resource teachers played a prominent role in instruction at the school, both by assisting teachers with their instructional strategies, and by regulating movement of students through the reading program.

Staff Development: Nothing seemed as important to the dozens of principals with whom we spoke in this study than the quality of their teachers. Again and again, we were told that teachers make the difference in the quality of schools. The hiring and retention of teachers as well as the development of their instructional expertise, then, seems critical in the establishment of an effective instructional system in any school.

Illuminating the same point, Shulman (1984) focused on teachers in a statement about effective schools that he termed "outrageous":

> I would like to suggest another image for you to carry around in your heads of what an effective school is like--an image that goes beyond the empirical view of a school that produces gains in test scores . . . . I'd like to suggest a view of an effective school that you will treat as outrageous. I think we ought to define effective schools as those that are educative settings for teachers. (Address)

He justified his proposal as follows:

> If the quality of education for kids ultimately depends on how smart teachers are about their teaching and about their subjects, what better place for them to learn new things than in the school itself?

Noting our principals' beliefs about the importance of teachers and finding no argument with Shulman's logic, we consider the topic of staff development a crucial part of the technology of instructional systems (see also Showers, 1984).

In conceptualizing staff development as growth or as learning experiences for teachers, three common aspects of the day-to-day world of schools seem germane: a) the supervision of instruction; b) teacher evaluation; and c) in-service opportunities for staff. We have already woven the topic of supervision in this school into other portions of the story. For example, through supervision, we find our principals influencing social and academic goals, social and academic curriculum, and pedagogy. In this section, then, we would like to illuminate the principal's activities and attitudes regarding teacher evaluation and discuss her role in providing in-service activities for teachers.

Before describing teacher evaluation at Roosevelt, we would like to clarify the difference between instructional supervision and teacher evaluation, for the two are often confused. McLaughlin (1984) distinguished between the two:

> Supervision of teaching and evaluation of teaching are not the same thing. Instructional supervision is the process of facilitating the professional growth of a teacher by giving the teacher feedback about classroom interactions and helping the teacher to make use of that feedback to become a more effective teacher. Evaluation is the analysis of overall teaching performance to meet contractual requirements, including the measurement of teacher change and improvement both in teaching and professional conduct to make personnel decisions for job placement, tenure, performance improvement plans, dismissal, and recognition and promotion.
>
> The power to supervise is bestowed by teachers and is intended to create trust between the teacher and supervisor, to facilitate teacher learning and develop teacher autonomy. The power to evaluate is bestowed by the governing board, administration, and state regulations. (p. 4)

Winston conducted formal evaluations of her staff according to procedures outlined by the state legislature. These guidelines mandated that she evaluate each teacher every two years. The form she used during the evaluation process was determined by the district and the teachers' union, and included two categories: "Satisfactory" and "Unsatisfactory." Sometimes, however, Winston gave teachers whom she evaluated as needing help her own rating of "Marginal." As she explained, it is "our responsibility to give [this teacher] assistance" (FN, 1/20/83, p. 7).

Winston based all of her formal evaluations on four criteria: 1) student progress, 2) professional competence, 3) control of the learning environment, and 4) other duties and responsibilities (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). She assessed student progress primarily by looking at test scores and report cards (TI, 3/7/83, pp. 7, 12; TI, 4/21/83, p. 9; TI, 5/10/83, p. 8), but she also took into consideration the students' "socio-emotional" growth (IOI, 3/22/83, Part II). She determined teacher performance in regard to the other three criteria by documenting classroom observations, conducting post-observation conferences, and monitoring lesson plans (FN, 1/20/83, pp. 2, 5; TI, 2/16/83, p. 6; TI, 5/6/83, p. 9).

During the formal observations, Winston did not sit passively taking notes but walked around the room observing students at work and often praising some of the children (FN, 1/20/83, p. 2). Frequently, she sat down with the children, helping or participating in whatever activity they were engaged in (FN, 1/20/83, p. 3).

In addition to the formal observation process, Winston used informal means to critique her teachers' classroom performances. For example, she often visited classrooms unannounced to observe teachers' materials and lessons. As one teacher explained:

> Mrs. Winston and another administrator do come around . . . to observe you and offer suggestions on how they think you did, what the weak points were, how you can do better on the strong points. (TI, 3/7/83, p. 9)

The informal observations usually lasted anywhere from a "few minutes" to fifteen minutes and were made with varying frequency. One teacher claimed that "[Winston] may pop in here any minute" (TI, 6/3/83, p. 6); another teacher, however, said Winston visited her "maybe three times a year" (TI, 6/3/83, p. 5). Despite these differences in frequency, most teachers agreed:

> [Winston's] aware, she knows what you're doing, she makes it a point to get by the rooms periodically and know what you're doing. (TI, 4/21/83, p. 5)

After her observations, Winston either talked to the teachers about what she had seen, or she wrote down her comments and put them in the teachers' boxes (TI, 3/7/83, p. 10). Winston's preferred method was the former, and even if she gave the teacher a write-up, she also encouraged verbal communication. As one teacher said, "You're always free to meet with Mrs. Winston to discuss it [her evaluation]" (TI, 3/7/83, p. 10).

Winston kept track of what her teachers were doing and how well they were doing it by monitoring lesson plans. Although she monitored them most extensively during the formal observation period, she checked all teachers' lesson plans on a monthly basis. According to one teacher:

> [Winston] checks them [lesson plans] and what she does look for is sequence, and just how your plans are written up, and where you're going. She can tell, you know, she can tell just what you're doing in the classroom from your plans. (TI, 5/10/83, p. 8)

Winston also wanted to determine whether teachers were meeting the classroom objectives and goals they had enumerated at the beginning of the year. According to one teacher, if they were not, Winston would "call that to our attention" (TI, 6/3/83, p. 6).

Besides the above strategies, Winston used a variety of other sources of information to conduct evaluations. Periodically, she asked teachers to place a list of their activities in her mailbox (TI, 3/7/83, p. 11); she checked classroom documentation task cards (TI, 3/7/83, p. 6); and she frequently talked or shared information with teachers on an informal basis (TI, 4/21/83, p. 8). Through these various methods, she obtained extra cues to help her focus on teachers who needed her attention.

Most importantly, if Winston decided that a teacher needed extra attention, she was careful to make sure that her intervention with that teacher was positive in nature. As one teacher explained:

> When she tries to [help] a particular teacher, sometimes me, she brings up her point very, very gently. You know, talking about something pleasant first, about whatever I think I need her to do to make my teaching more effective. (TI, 2/16/83, p. 4)

And another teacher added:

> She's been very positive in whatever feedback she's given me. (TI, 4/21/83, p. 7)

Winston conducted her formal and informal evaluations in a thorough, efficient, and positive manner, always with the aim of improving her teachers' teaching. She further enhanced this effort by providing a receptive atmosphere--and multiple opportunities--for staff in-service training.

The in-service climate of a school is a key feature for promoting learning for teachers. Little (1982) commented on this important aspect of successful schools:

> In . . . successful schools, teachers and administrators [are] more likely to talk together regularly and frequently about the

> business of instruction . . . , more likely to work together to develop lessons, assignments and materials, and more likely to teach one another about new ideas or practices; this habit of shared work on teaching (a norm of collegiality) stands in contrast to the carefully preserved autonomy that prevail[s] in less successful schools. (p. 40)

Little's words emphasized the value of having school staff members share work on and about teaching under a "norm of collegiality." In this way, teachers learn from each other; activities are brought back to colleagues, shared in discussions, and processed for useful incorporation into classroom practice. Facilitating such exchanges of ideas for the improvement of instruction is a key role of the principal. The unique position of the principal in the school organization that permits him or her to facilitate and support the exchange of ideas for the improvement of instruction is a persistent theme in the literature (e.g., Rosenblum & Jastrzab, n.d.; Showers, 1984).

Not surprisingly, Winston gave staff development, and especially in-service training, top priority at Roosevelt School. She commented:

> The important thing about in-service . . . is to try to give them [the teachers] other vehicles to try to communicate with the children. (FN, 1/5/83, p. 4)

For these reasons, Winston made every effort to make in-service training an integral part of her teachers' jobs. This included reserving Tuesday of each week for staff development. On each Tuesday, students were dismissed from school early so that the teachers could have a two o'clock in-service. In order to compensate for the lost instructional time, Winston and the teachers had decided to add ten minutes to the four other school days. This in-service schedule, which had to be approved each year by the area superintendent or the associate superintendent, was discouraged by the district, but each year Winston had fought for its implementation; it had not yet been cancelled (FN, 9/23/82, p. 8; IOI, 3/22/83, Part I). In fact, at the time of this study, Winston was attempting to persuade the district to write a weekly staff development day into one of its master programs (FN, 10/14/82, p. 20).

Winston sometimes scheduled in-service meetings during the teachers' half-hour preparation period in the morning before school started. She had a "personal bias" against scheduling in-services after school on a regular day because:

> My thing is that if the teachers are doing what they're supposed to be doing all day, they're not that receptive between four and

> five o'clock . . . and I try to avoid that if at all possible. (TI, 9/7/82, p. 17)

Although Winston determined the in-service schedule herself, she always conducted a "little survey" at the beginning of the year to find out what her teachers wanted in the in-service sessions. She also checked the test data and the grade-level sheets to find out which areas needed strengthening. Using all of this information, Winston organized Roosevelt's in-service agenda (FN, 9/23/82, p. 8; IOI, 3/22/83, Part II).

Winston usually provided in-service training by taking advantage of district resources such as specialists and "Teachers on Special Assignment" who had the talents and skills she considered beneficial to her staff. The district's Follow Through program, for example, provided a specialist who gave in-service training on learning through literature. Other district specialists gave in-services on multicultural education or on the use of teaching machines such as the vox-com and mini-computers.

Winston also encouraged staff members to offer training to one another (TI, 1/5/83, p. 5; TI, 2/16/83, p. 7; TI, 5/1/83, p. 6). For example, Winston asked one teacher to give a workshop on bookbinding, and another to give an in-service on mini-society children's economics (a special district program); she also had the school psychologist hold a workshop on learning modalities, and she arranged for the school resource teachers to give math and reading workshops.

Even though most of the in-services addressed needs previously mentioned by the teachers, Winston also scheduled in-services on a more spontaneous basis. One teacher reported:

> Sometimes we're just walking down the hall and [Winston's] relating certain experiences she has seen, you know, about what I've done in the classroom, and maybe asks me to do something with some of the other teachers. (TI, 5/10/83, p. 7)

This point brings out the fact that staff development training was not always offered to the entire staff. Nor did it always take place on the school site. Winston often invited teachers to visit other classes or other schools and encouraged them to take advantage of district-level in-services. Sometimes, she recommended that teachers take university or college courses as part of their professional development (TI, 9/7/82, p. 17; TI, 6/3/83, p. 8). In addition, she provided release time for the teachers to attend these activities whenever possible (SFI, 4/21/83, p. 1).

Despite the variety of staff development opportunities that Winston provided, several teachers wanted more training to "develop better understanding about the need for certain kinds of programs" (TI, 4/21/83, p. 5; TI, 4/21/83, p. 6). For example, many of the bilingual staff believed that the non-bilingual staff did not really support the bilingual program. They felt that in order to improve this situation, Winston should initiate in-services or workshops for all the staff on bilingual education and particularly bilingual testing problems (FN, 1/11/83, p. 8; TI, 4/21/83, p. 6).

There were also a few teachers who felt that some of the in-service sessions were "repetitive or redundant" and left the teacher with a "Why am I here?" feeling (SFI, 3/7/83, p. 1).

Aside from the above criticism, the majority of teachers felt that the in-service training they received was useful. One teacher stated, "It's [in-service] taken very seriously, it's very helpful" (SFI, 2/18/83, p. 1); another valued the in-service training because "there are new things to try, which makes it more interesting for the teachers and the kids" (SFI, 3/23/83, p. 1). Many of the teachers also expressed their appreciation of Winston's constant support of staff development activities. As one teacher said:

> She [Winston] stimulates interest in activities and always has a new focus for teachers. She inspires teachers. (SFI, 6/6/83, p. 1)

In summary, Winston used both formal and informal means to influence the professional development of teachers at Roosevelt. In-service training to encourage staff development was one part of her approach. She also spent a great deal of time watching teachers in their classrooms, making suggestions to them, and altering the weekly in-service agenda in response to her teachers' changing perceptions of their professional needs. In a nonthreatening manner, she suggested ways for teachers to improve their instruction. She also encouraged teachers to attend outside courses to hone their skills. For the most part, teachers were receptive to her suggestions and saw her involvement as supportive of their teaching.

Summary: Roosevelt's School Ethos

The overall portrait of Roosevelt Elementary School was that of a school in search of a center to hold together its disparate elements. Beset by the potentially destabilizing factors of language differences, high student transiency, poverty, low student academic achievement, conflicting policy at the district level, and a highly politicized atmosphere, the school was attempting to react responsibly to these issues, yet maintain a sense of identity and direction. Roosevelt's principal, Emma Winston, was the key element in this effort and had gone a long way toward providing the center that this school so desperately sought.

Winston's goals for Roosevelt reflected the ethnic diversity and the limited academic skills and experiences of the school's student population. Believing that school should prepare these students to "survive in society," Winston wanted to give students a firm grasp of the basic skills, to teach them how to get along with each other, and to help them develop responsible, independent, and positive self-images.

In light of these goals, Winston's efforts to remain visible to Roosevelt's students by monitoring classrooms, the lunchroom, and the playgrounds appear especially important. Overcrowded conditions, high student transiency, and a number of pullout educational programs meant that during the course of the school year, an individual student might encounter a variety of classroom situations, receive instruction from a number of teachers, or interact with various groups of peers. By maintaining visibility, Winston hoped to model and reinforce the kind of behavior necessary to create a sense of community and cooperation among the school's students.

Similarly, Roosevelt's teachers sometimes felt themselves at the mercy of conflicting demands. Textbook guidelines, district expectations, parental concerns, and the day-to-day exigencies of running a classroom often seemed irreconcilable. In response, Winston had adopted a "team-player" attitude. For example, although she faithfully conveyed district expectations and goals to her teachers, the principal tempered these expectations with realism--admitting that some of the district's goals might be, for the time being, beyond the reach of her school. Winston also granted her teachers the autonomy to determine how to incorporate district guidelines into their classroom teaching. She did, however, monitor lesson plans, observe teachers in classrooms, and give teachers a positive nudge when she felt they were drifting off course or lagging behind.

Winston also acted to mediate between district- and school-level policy whenever the two were in conflict. Sometimes, as in the case of misalignment between textbook requirements and grade-level expectations, the principal effected a compromise by spending a great deal of time in discussion with individual teachers. In other instances, Winston attempted to forestall conflicts. For example, rather than focus on problems with the district policy regarding student retentions, the principal stressed early intervention. Similarly, because of a variety of potential problems--a teacher's contract limiting class size, parental preferences, transiency, crowding, and federal regulations in regard to the bilingual program--Winston assumed responsibility for assigning students to classrooms. By playing a major role here, Winston was able to provide guidance and to take responsibility when something went wrong.

Whether Winston's efforts with students and staff were successful is difficult to assess. Despite Winston's constant reminders to them about behavior in the lunchroom and on the playgrounds, students were observed to commit the same types of infractions throughout the school year. Language barriers and student transiency may have contributed to this tendency. The fact that supervising Roosevelt's large student population often fell entirely upon the shoulders of Winston and her assistant principal may also have limited the effectiveness of Winston's strategy.

Similarly, though many teachers agreed with Winston's goals and appreciated her efforts on their behalf, the staff as a whole exhibited little esprit de corps. Some teachers complained about her hiring practices; others felt that she could do more to foster understanding among the teachers about the school's various programs. Some readily took advantage of departmental arrangements and in-services; others felt these activities to be more of a nuisance than a help. Most, however, believed that Winston was supportive of their efforts and that she treated them as professionals.

In summation, although Winston had compared life at Roosevelt to "living in a family," the members of this "family"--students, staff, and community--were so disparate in their needs that Winston's comparison was perhaps more of a wish than a reality. Despite the time and energy that she put forth trying to be a team player and to create a family atmosphere, her wish was as yet unrealized. Perhaps the second part of Winston's comparison between school and family more accurately summed up the ethos of Roosevelt Elementary School. She said, "You have to work with what you have." And the final outcome of Winston's efforts was by no means determined by the time our study concluded.

PATTERNS AND PROCESSES
IN THE PRINCIPAL'S ROLE AS INSTRUCTIONAL LEADER

Finding Instructional Leadership in Principals' Routine Actions

We want to remind the reader, after this long descriptive narrative about Emma Winston and Roosevelt Elementary School, that our collaboration with this principal and others began as we sought to understand the principal's role in instructional leadership and management. We turned first to prior research about principals and found a major contradiction: While descriptive studies argued that the work of principals is varied, fragmented, and little concerned with instructional matters (Peterson, 1978; Pitner, 1982; Sproull, 1979), effective-school studies proffered the centrality of principals in the development of potent instructional organizations (Armor et al., 1976; Brookover & Lezotte, 1977; Edmonds, 1979).

Attempting to resolve this enigma, we interviewed dozens of principals and completed an intensive, eight-week pilot study. Based on these preliminary efforts, we strongly suspected that principals could be key agents in the creation of successful instructional settings:

> The intensiveness of the method employed in [our pilot studies] has allowed a very different concept of leadership behavior to emerge. This concept is one that visualizes instructional leadership accruing from the repetition of routine and mundane acts performed in accord with principals' overarching perspectives on schooling.
>
> If such is the case, research procedures must be finely tuned and pervasive enough in the school to reveal those behaviors and trace their effects. A lack of such thorough and field-based procedures may account for the frequent report that principals are not effective instructional leaders or that they do not occupy themselves with instructional matters. (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983, p. 57)

This statement contained both conceptual and methodological premises that were distinct from those embodied in other studies about school principals.

Conceptually, we began our yearlong studies of principals attuned to the importance of routine activities like the ones we had noted during our pilot work: monitoring, controlling and exchanging information, planning, interacting with students, hiring and training staff, and overseeing building maintenance. We had written about these behaviors:

> These are the routine and mundane acts through which principals can assess the working status of their organizations and the progress of their schools relative to long-term goals. They are the acts which allow principals to alter the course of events midstream: to return aberrant student behavior to acceptable norms; to suggest changes in teaching style or intervene to demonstrate a preferred form of instruction; to develop student, teacher, or community support for programs already underway; to develop an awareness of changes in the organization that must be made in the future. (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983, p. 54)

The "success" of these actions for instructional management, we wrote, "hinges . . . on the principal's capacity to connect them to the instructional system" (p. 54), for we had found that the principals with whom we worked believed that they could and did influence the instructional systems in their schools.

We also found that each of our principals held a working theory of his or her instructional system--an overarching perspective--that guided his or her actions. Those overarching perspectives were complex constellations of personal experience, community and district "givens," principals' behaviors, and instructional climate and organization variables that offered both direct and circuitous routes along which principals could influence their schools and the experiences their students encountered daily. (Our generalized model is illustrated in Figure 1 in the Foreword.)

The purposes of principals' actions, however, were not always transparent, and the consequences of their activities were not necessarily immediate. In addition, the impact of routine behaviors might be cumulative; we would have to watch the same actions again and again before we could see any noticeable change in the instructional systems of our schools. Thus, finding the subtle linkages between principals' actions and instructional outcomes in schools would require the most intensive effort we could mount; we needed to spend as much time as possible in our schools; we needed to question participants in the scenes we witnessed about their interactions and about the purposes and outcomes of principals' actions.

We accomplished this intensive examination of the daily work of principals primarily with a combination of observation and interview procedures which we called the shadow and the reflective interview. (See the companion volume, Methodology, for a full description of these procedures.) The intensive application of the full range of our inquiry activities aligned our work with the research tradition variously called educational ethnography, participant observation, or case study by its leading practitioners (e.g., Becker, Greer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961; Cicourel et al., 1974; L. M. Smith, 1978; Spindler, 1982; Walker, 1932; Wax, Wax, & DuMont, 1964).

We spent over a thousand hours in our 12 schools, an effort that yielded approximately 10,000 pages of descriptive material about the work of principals. When we analyzed this body of material to discover simply what principals do, we found that their activities could be broken down into nine categories of principals' routine behaviors:

Goal Setting & Planning: Defining or determining future outcomes. Making decisions about, or formulating means for, achieving those ends.

Monitoring: Reviewing, watching, checking, being present without a formal evaluation intended.

Evaluating: Appraising or judging with regard to persons, programs, material, etc. May include providing feedback.

Communicating: Various forms of verbal exchange, including greeting, informing, counseling, commenting, etc. Also includes forms of nonverbal communication such as physical contacts, gestures, and facial expressions.

Scheduling, Allocating Resources, & Organizing: Making decisions about allocations of time, space, materials, personnel, and energy. Arranging or coordinating projects, programs, or events.

Staffing: Hiring and placement of teaching staff, specialists, and support personnel.

Modeling: Demonstrating teaching techniques or strategies of interaction for teachers, other staff, parents, or students.

> **Governing:** Decision making with regard to policy. Legislating, enforcing policy or rules.
>
> **Filling In:** Substituting for another staff member (nurse, maintenance person, secretary, teacher) on a temporary basis.

We found that we assigned the category of Communicating to well over 50% of our observations of principals. We assigned Monitoring, Scheduling/Allocating Resources/Organizing, and Governing to most of our remaining observations. Analyzing our interviews with teachers about what principals do produced nearly an identical profile.

Our profiles of what principals _do_ in their schools--their behaviors--illustrate, again, what many others have reported: Principals' activities are typically very short, face-to-face interactions with students, teachers, parents, or other participants in school organizations; their interactions usually occur almost anywhere but in their own offices; and the topics of their interactions change frequently and abruptly. A study by Morris, Crowson, Hurwitz, and Porter-Gehrie (1982), for example, reported that a principal's day is composed of "school monitoring behaviors," "serving as school spokesperson," "serving the school staff internally as a disseminator of information," and "serving the school as both disturbance handler and resource allocator" (p. 689). Another study (Martin & Willower, 1981) likened the principal's work to private sector management after a Mintzberg-type study of the activities of school principals. They, too, found that principals' work is characterized by "variety, brevity, and fragmentation" (p. 79), and that the preponderance (84.8%) of the activities of the principals who participated in their study involved "purely verbal elements" (p. 80).

These researchers concluded from their observations that the principal's role as an instructional leader is relatively minor. Morris et al. stated that "instructional leadership (in terms of classroom observation and teacher supervision) is _not_ the central focus of the principalship" (p. 689), while Martin and Willower reported:

> Perhaps the most widely heralded role of the principal is that of instructional leader, which conjures up images of a task routine dominated by the generation of innovative curricula and novel teaching strategies. The principals in this study spent 17.4% of their time on instructional matters. . . . The majority of the routine education of youngsters that occurred in the schools was clearly the province of the teaching staff. (p. 83)

Another recent study by Newburg and Glatthorn (1983) also concluded that "for the most part principals do not provide instructional leadership" (p. v).

The major problem with these studies, we believe, lies in an overly narrow conception of instructional leadership that is implicitly rational and bureaucratic, despite the fact that principals work in organizations that have been described as "loosely coupled" (Meyer & Rowan, 1978; Weick, 1976) and even "disorderly" (Perrow, 1982). Only those behaviors that were directly and formally concerned with instruction were examined, and researchers acknowledged that they could make little sense of the vast majority of principals' activities. The Morris group wrote:

> Everything seems to blend together in an undifferentiated jumble of activities that are presumably related, however remotely, to the ongoing rhythm and purpose of the larger enterprise. (1982, p. 689)

The major purpose of our study was to untangle that previously "undifferentiated jumble" of principal behaviors to see how the principal influenced instruction through the culture of the school (Firestone & Wilson, 1983) or through the exercise of routine activities (Dwyer, Lee, Rowan, & Bossert, 1983). To take this necessary step, we examined the meanings principals and other participants in the school settings attributed to principals' activities. As both Greenfield (1982) and Bridges (1982) had recommended, we probed for the antecedents and consequences of principals' behaviors.

We considered the entire range of behaviors from the thousands of pages that we had acquired during our yearlong study, looking for the purposes of those acts--the targets of principals' activities. The reflective interviews proved to be the most revealing documents since they captured insiders' perspectives about the meanings of principals' actions. Again, we produced a list of categories that encompassed all of our episodes. These "targets" or purposes included:

> **Work Structure**: All components related to the task of delivering instruction.
>
> **Staff Relations**: Outcomes concerning the feelings and/or personal needs of individual staff members.
>
> **Student Relations**: Outcomes concerning the feelings, attitudes, or personal needs (academic, social, or psychological) of students.
>
> **Safety & Order**: Features of the physical organization, rules, and procedures of the

school that influence the safety of members and the capacity of members to carry out their work.

Plant & Equipment: Elements of the physical plant such as the building, grounds, audiovisual equipment, office machines, etc.

Community Relations: Outcomes concerning the attitudes and involvement of parents or other community members.

Institutional Relations: Outcomes related to the district office, other schools, or other formal organizations outside the school.

Institutional Ethos: School culture or spirit. May refer to features of the school program or to a "tone" that contributes to the school's unique identity and constitutes shared meaning among members of the school organization.

Combining the nine types of routine behaviors previously discussed with these eight targets or purposes provided a matrix of 72 discrete action cells. Combining behavior with purpose in this manner helped reveal patterns in the previously chaotic impressions of principals' actions. Sometimes these patterns were related to contextual or personal idiosyncrasies in the settings; sometimes they could be attributed to principals' carefully reasoned approaches. But in all instances, we found interesting leadership stories, where principals strived within their limits to set conditions for, or parameters of, instruction.

In this manner, we believe we have taken a significant step toward revealing various ways in which principals can exercise instructional leadership. The remaining section of this case study of Principal Emma Winston discusses the results of our analysis of her routine behaviors and illustrates the manner in which we believe Winston led the instructional program at her school.

Winston's Enactment of Instructional Leadership

We have related the disparate opinions about the role of the principal as instructional leader found in the research literature. Further, we have noted the importance we place on the routine actions of principals--what other researchers have called an "undifferentiated jumble" of activities; we believe that principals can use their routine activities to influence their instructional organizations significantly. In this final section of the Emma Winston case study, we will delve into that jumble, find an order that is related to the specific context in which Winston worked, and disclose a cogent picture of Winston's role as instructional leader at Roosevelt Elementary School.

By introducing Roosevelt's setting and actors, portraying a day in the life of Emma Winston, and describing the instructional climate and organization of the school, we presented a plethora of details about Roosevelt Elementary School. The purpose of our narrative was to give the reader a holistic impression of this setting and principal. Yet, while the narrative does provide the necessary background for our story of instructional leadership, we must now construe the data to illuminate Winston's role and the impact of her routine actions in that organization.

The result of our sorting hundreds of Winston's activities into the nine behavior categories established in our analysis (see pp. 79-80) is presented in Figure 5 (p. 84), "Distribution of Principal Winston's Routine Behaviors." This figure graphically illustrates what Winston did in her school during the time we spent there. In this display, we can see that Winston's routine behaviors (like every other principal's in our study), were predominately acts of communication (59.4%). One easily recalls from the narrative how often Winston talked with students, teachers, clerical and custodial staff, parents, and district administrators.

Figure 5 also shows that substantial numbers of Winston's activities could be described as acts of Monitoring (12.5%), Governing (11.9%), and Scheduling, Allocating Resources, and Organizing (10.8%). Concrete examples of these generalized behaviors can be recalled from the narrative: Winston as yard and cafeteria supervisor, monitoring student behavior and enforcing school rules; and Winston as instructional supervisor, monitoring lesson plans and report cards and allocating students to classrooms. Relatively few of Winston's behaviors were coded as Filling In (1.7%), Staffing (1.4%), Goal Setting (1.0%), or Modeling (0.3%). The infrequency of the staffing behavior might be accounted for by the overall stable staffing patterns at Roosevelt. The small percentage of Goal Setting may reflect Winston's preference for being a team player; she often assumed a more supportive than directive role in school goal-setting sessions.

The all-important next step in understanding principals' roles is to discover why they do what they do. On pages 81-82, we described eight categories of motives that encompassed the rationales that principals, teachers, and students assigned to the behaviors of the principals that we witnessed in our 12 research settings. These meanings, combined with principals' behaviors, can disclose purposeful actions that were previously masked by the frenetic nature of principals' activities.

In Winston's case, examining in sequence the four largest clusters of her actions at Roosevelt reveals the extent to which Winston focused on three primary targets--the work structure of the school, safety and order, and student relations. (See

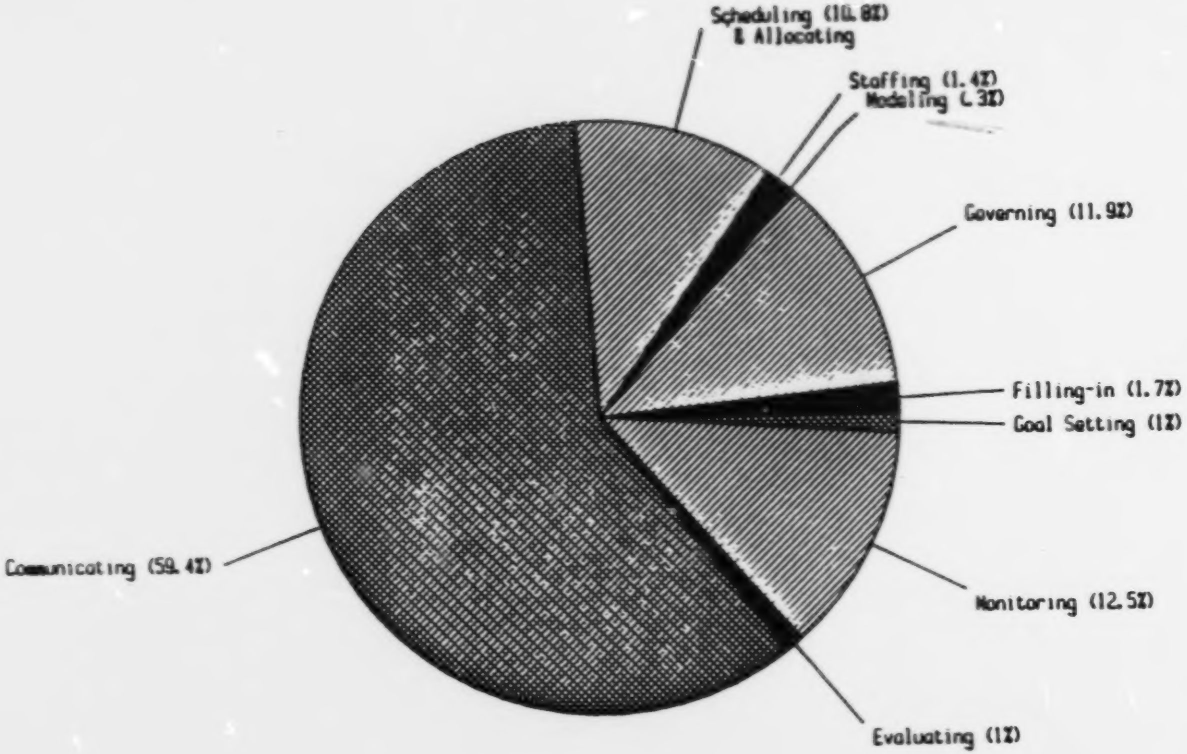

Figure 5: Distribution of Principal Winston's Routine Behaviors

Figures 6, 7, 8, and 9 on pages 86, 87, 88, and 89.) The pie charts illustrate that Roosevelt's work structure, all those proximal or distal components related to the delivery of instruction, was the primary target of Winston's routine behaviors. In fact, about 32% of Winston's activities were aimed at influencing some aspect of the work structure. The pie charts also show that Winston gave attention to school climate. For example, 24% of Winston's routine behaviors were coded as being targeted toward the improvement of safety and order at the school, and 18% were coded as involving student relations, which demonstrated Winston's concern for students' feelings, attitudes, and needs.

Further, if we examine the 72 combinations of principal behaviors and targets in our analytic scheme, we find that most of Winston's actions (77%) fall into only nine of those cells. Rank ordered, her most routine actions included:

Communicating/Student Relations (15%)
Communicating/Work Structure (14%)
Communicating/Community Relations (9%)
Communicating/Safety & Order (9%)
Governing/Safety & Order (8%)
Scheduling, Allocating Resources/Work Structure (7%)
Communicating/Staff Relations (5%)
Monitoring/Safety & Order (5%)
Monitoring/Work Structure (5%)

If we begin with this analysis of Winston's most routine actions as principal of Roosevelt Elementary School and add to it the facts presented in the narrative about the school's community and district, Winston's own background and beliefs, the nature of the instructional climate and organization at Roosevelt, and Winston's aspirations for her school and her students, we get a very complete picture--or overarching perspective--of the Roosevelt Elementary School. The meaning or purpose of Winston's "jumble" of routine actions also becomes patently clear.

The general model we illustrated in Figure 1 (p. v) can be used to frame an overarching perspective of instructional management at Roosevelt. The community and institutional context "boxes" indicate fundamental system "givens," aspects of Roosevelt's context that constrained and shaped Winston's actions as principal and over which she had little control. Important characteristics of the community Roosevelt served were the ethnic diversity of the school's population and the poverty of many of its families. Another important "given" was the Hawthorne School District, of which Roosevelt was a part. Hawthorne was a highly politicized district that created a great number of policies for schools to follow. In recent years, many of these policies had been influenced by a prominent community organization concerned with the needs of the low-income students in the district. This community-generated pressure had increased attention to discipline and basic skills instruction at Roosevelt.

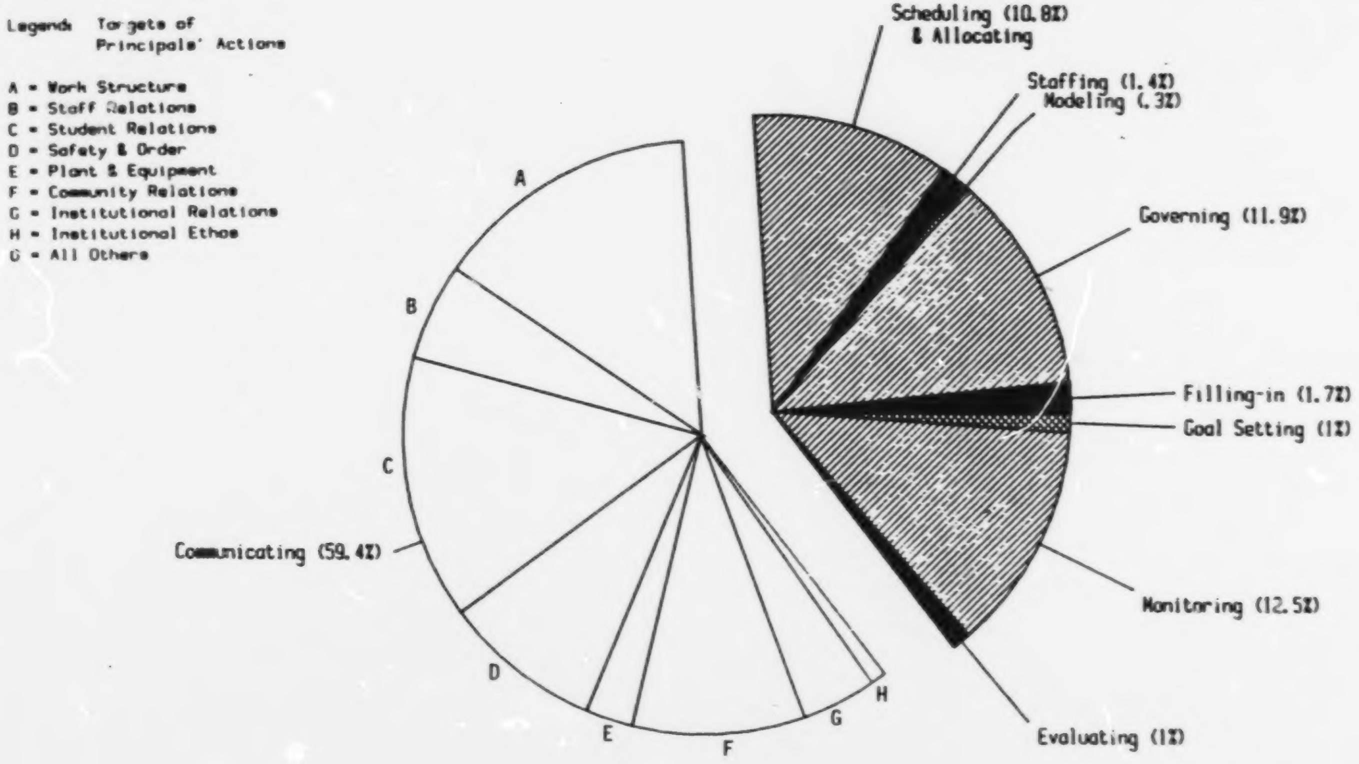

Figure 6: Distribution of Principal Winston's Routine Actions: Communicating

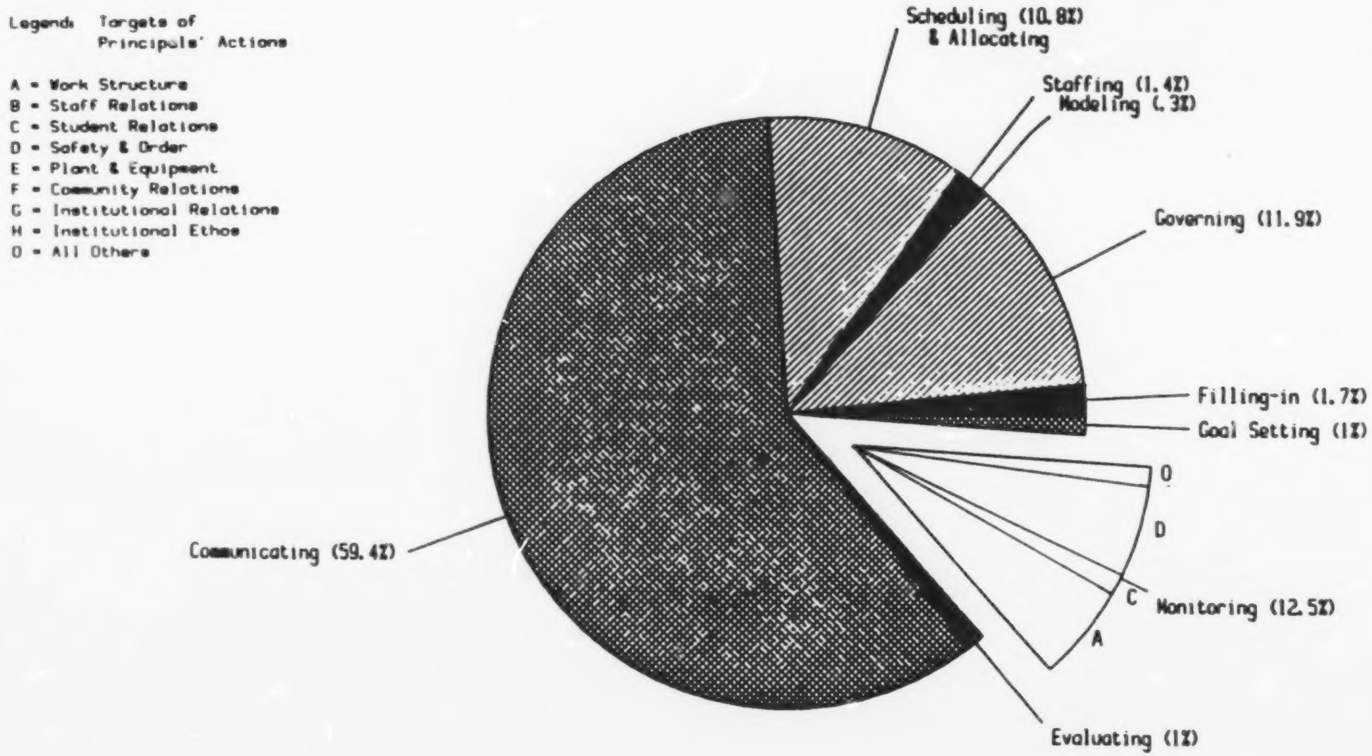

Figure 7: Distribution of Principal Winston's Routine Actions: Monitoring

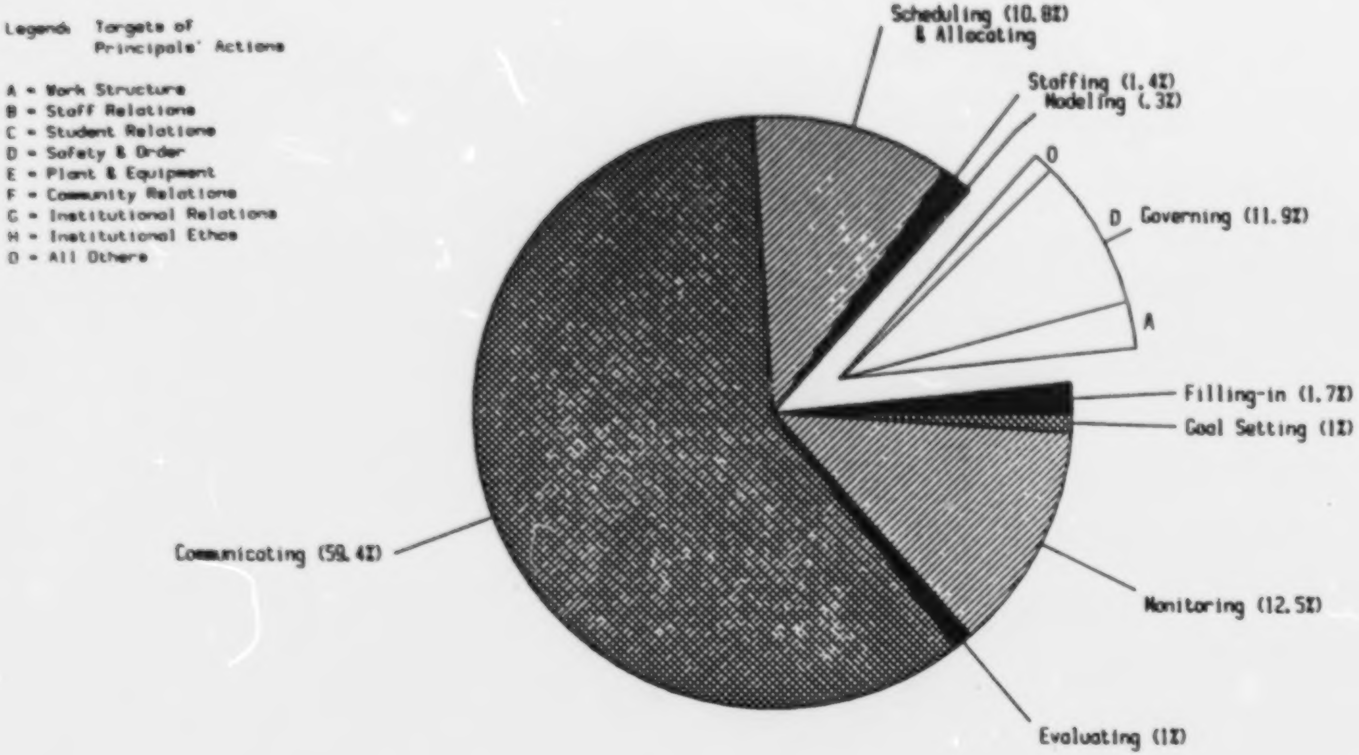

Figure 8: Distribution of Principal Winston's Routine Actions: Governing

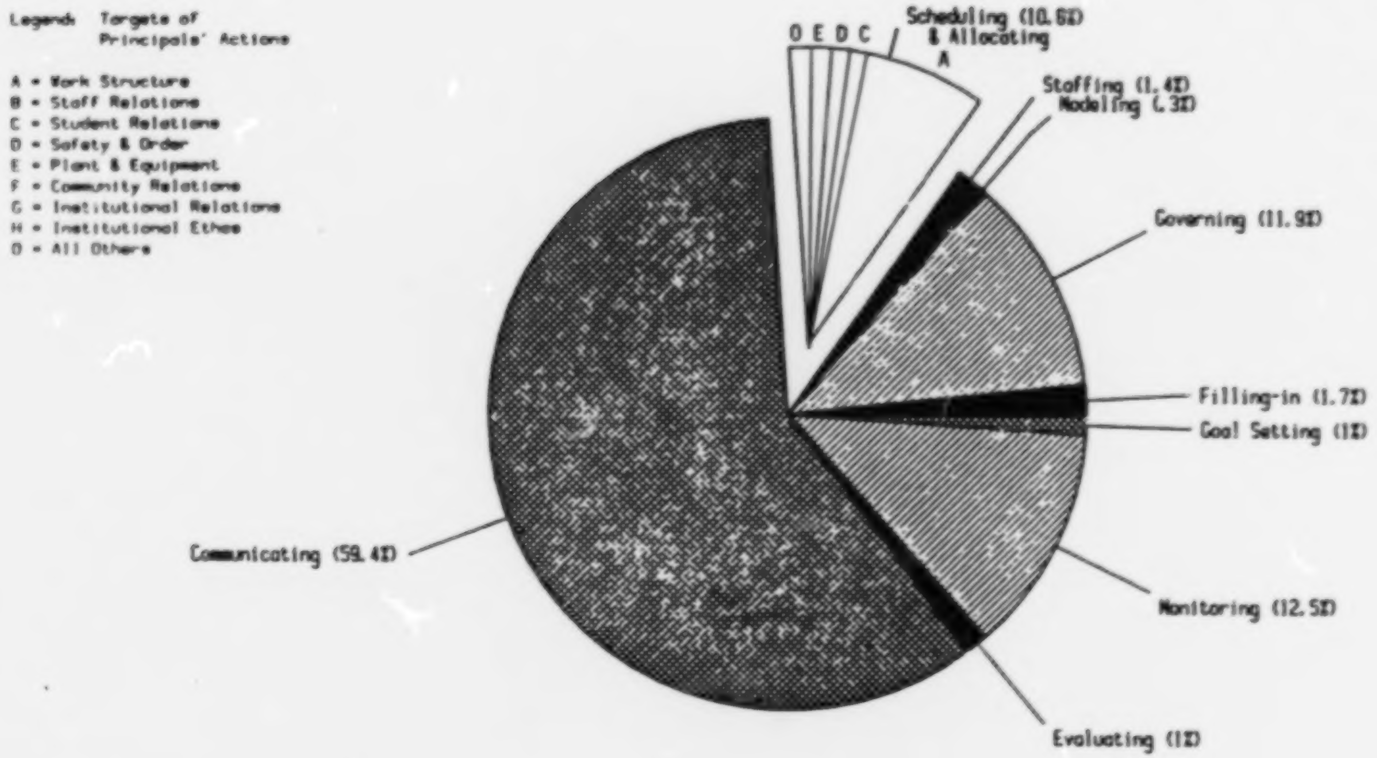

Figure 9: Distribution of Principal Winston's Routine Actions: Scheduling, Allocating Resources, and Organizing

Winston's own professional experience, philosophy of schooling, and personal history were also important "givens" that shaped her actions as principal of Roosevelt School. In our narrative, we characterized Winston as an experienced urban educator deeply concerned with the social development of children. From her experiences as principal of multiethnic schools, both at Roosevelt and at the school where she had previously served as principal, Winston had forged a philosophy of education that stressed the need to teach children how to live and work together in a pluralistic setting and to provide students with skills that they could carry into adult life. The influence of this philosophy was visible in the many enrichment activities for children at Roosevelt and in Winston's efforts to maintain a "balanced curriculum."

In some ways, Winston's values were ideally suited to Roosevelt School's multiethnic character. In fact, Winston's leadership echoes the "common school" tradition of American education at the turn of the century. In the midst of the ethnic diversity at Roosevelt, Winston was able to see a common core of humanity. She believed that all parents, no matter what their ethnic background, wanted the same thing for their children--a good education that would allow them to succeed in life. And when students had problems, she viewed these as "kid problems" rather than the problems of children from a particular ethnic background. Winston also preached tolerance and believed that working in her school was like living in a family where "you work with what you have." Thus, she did not complain about the problems of the community she served but instead reached out to it by encouraging parent-teacher communication, by holding parent education classes in her school, and by doing her best to secure resources for the immigrant children at Roosevelt.

Other aspects of Winston's philosophy were partially at odds with the prevailing policies of the district office and political pressures within the community. However, as a "team player," Winston adapted to these district and community pressures pragmatically. Thus, we saw in the narrative the tension between Winston's commitment to providing students with a "balanced curriculum" and the district's emphasis on grade-level expectations. Winston reacted to this tension by insisting on attention to basic skills instruction and by recognizing that this attention would result in the partial sacrifice of "balance" in the curriculum. Multicultural activities and assemblies became less frequent over the years, and although Winston continued to monitor lesson plans to ensure balanced coverage of curriculum areas, she recognized that many teachers were devoting the majority of their effort to instruction in basic skills.

Lastly, our reflections on the "givens" at Roosevelt School bring us to an examination of Winston's composure in the face of the challenges presented by leadership of a large, diverse school. Throughout our study, our observer was impressed with Winston's indefatigable energy and friendliness and her ability to maintain a professional demeanor even in the most trying of circumstances. Because she was a "team player" who enjoyed "pitching in," Winston's assuring presence was felt throughout the school. As she dealt with complaining parents or teachers, experienced frustrating delays from district red tape, sat through long and sometimes controversial committee meetings, or supervised the cafeteria and playground, Winston attempted to smooth over conflicts and ensure that people were treated fairly and humanely. As a result, Roosevelt School mirrored the consummate "professionalism" of its leader and provided a safe and orderly environment for students, parents, and teachers alike.

Establishing the Instructional Climate: As did other principals in our studies, Winston addressed two aspects of the school framework as she managed instruction at Roosevelt: the instructional climate and the instructional organization. (Again, the reader may wish to refer to the framework on page v.) With respect to instructional climate, we have already seen that roughly 42% of the entire range of Winston's routine behaviors were devoted to student relations and safety and order, and we have already argued that these activities promoted the orderliness and warmth of the school climate we found at Roosevelt.

We need only recall from the narrative the amount of time Winston spent each day supervising the playground and cafeteria to understand her part in forming the instructional climate at Roosevelt. The influence of Emma Winston, bullhorn in hand as she roamed the school's cafeteria and playgrounds, spread to all areas of the school grounds. She monitored activities and attempted to prevent trouble before it occurred. And when trouble occurred, Winston intervened quickly. Her tendency was to allow students a period of time to "cool off" so that she could later calmly explain to them the dangers or wrongfulness of their actions. Thus, Winston did not merely preach the value of teaching students cooperation and responsibility; every day as she patrolled the cafeteria and playground and disciplined students in her office she actively instructed students how to behave cooperatively and responsibly.

The narrative also shows that Winston acted warmly toward students and that she was attentive to their emotional and personal needs. Indeed, about 18% of our codings of Winston's actions were related to this aspect of school climate. Whether it was ensuring that a group of disciplined students received lunch or that a child with a broken shoe received a new pair from home, Winston displayed her care for students. Our field notes also show how students responded to Winston's caring attitude. Time and again our observations record students greeting Emma Winston by exchanging hugs and kisses with her.

Although Winston's personal attention to students during cafeteria and yard duty was the most important way in which she shaped the school climate at Roosevelt, Winston also emphasized positive reinforcement. Classes that behaved well in the cafeteria were publicly praised; a contest was set up to reward the class that kept the cafeteria the cleanest; regular award assemblies were held to recognize student scholarship, attendance, and progress; and students who demonstrated good citizenship were given special rewards or had their pictures displayed in the main hall of the school. These highly visible ceremonies reinforced a school climate that emphasized cooperation and achievement.

Finally, Winston recognized that the instructional climate of Roosevelt School included the home life of students, and she therefore attempted to get parents actively involved in their children's schooling. To shape this aspect of instructional climate, Winston worked along many avenues. Her first line of contact with parents was school functions such as Back-to-School Night or letters and announcements sent home from school. Recall from the narrative how Winston had shortened the school day to allow parents to come to school to pick up report cards, how she had begun to send students' test scores home, and how she structured Back-to-School Night to include a discussion of grade-level expectations and the school's disciplinary expectations. Through these activities, Winston attempted to acquaint parents with the goals of the school and with their child's academic and social progress.

Winston also encouraged parents to volunteer their time at school, either as committee members or as classroom aides. This type of parental involvement was more difficult to secure because the educational and socioeconomic backgrounds of many of Roosevelt's parents predisposed them to be fearful of educational institutions. Nevertheless, Winston had managed to secure volunteers for important school committees, many of whom were parents of EDY students or recent immigrants who spoke little or no English. Winston made special efforts to incorporate these parents into the life of the school, and she encouraged their participation on committees to further their understanding of school goals and the role of parents in helping children learn. Parents were also recruited as classroom aides, especially for the early grades, and this helped to spark parental interest in their children's development. Finally, ESL adult classes and parent workshops were held at the school during evening hours to help parents acquire the skills they needed to supervise children's academic work.

Winston did not act alone in developing the instructional climate at Roosevelt. She also worked with teachers to see that they conformed to her ideas. For example, Winston held teachers accountable for providing a structured and interesting learning environment that prevented discipline problems. Although she gave teachers considerable latitude in classroom management techniques, she monitored "time-on-task" in classrooms on an informal basis and talked with teachers whose classroom management techniques were too "loose." Winston also relied on teachers to secure parental involvement in students' education. In fact, Winston viewed the teacher as the key person in the school's relationship to parents, and whenever questions arose about particular students, Winston actively encouraged parents to talk to teachers. Teachers shared Winston's approach and thus worked hard to communicate with parents about student academic progress or disciplinary problems. Although our narrative shows that the strategies used by teachers varied, it also shows that Winston had helped some teachers improve their relationships with parents in the local community.

It is perhaps appropriate to conclude this discussion by again noting Winston's view of the school as a "family." Although the population served by Roosevelt School contained its share of students with disciplinary problems and parents who resisted becoming involved in the life of the school, Winston persisted and "worked with what she had." She made sure that school messages were translated into the many languages of the parent groups served by the school; she provided translators at school meetings; she encouraged teachers to communicate directly and frequently with parents; and she made the school a center for community education. She also made her daily rounds, bullhorn in hand, teaching students to act responsibly and cooperatively. As a result, we observed an orderly campus where numerous parents actively participated in the life of the school.

Establishing the Instructional Organization: The second area in which Winston was able to exert influence at Roosevelt Elementary School was in the development of an effective instructional organization (see Figure 1 for our general framework of instructional management). As indicated in our narrative, Winston was deeply involved in managing all aspects of Roosevelt School related to instructional organization. Not surprisingly, nearly a third of her actions were oriented to the work structure of the school.

There were a number of ways Winston exerted influence over Roosevelt's instructional organization. One of the most important was her frequent monitoring of instructional plans and outcomes. As our narrative shows, Winston reviewed each student's report card at the end of every grading period and often used this opportunity to initiate conversations with teachers about the instructional strategies they were using to help children. Winston also monitored lesson plans, not merely to ensure that these were present for substitutes in the event of teacher absences, but also to see that teachers were devoting enough attention to areas of the curriculum other than basic skills. Often, when she returned lesson plans to teachers, she enclosed notes containing her comments. Finally, Winston periodically checked the reading levels of students to get a sense of how much progress students were making in this critical basic skill. We speculate that such monitoring activities, which relied heavily on written records, were one way that Winston maintained close contact with the school's instructional program even though the school was very large and her supervisory duties in the lunchroom and playground consumed a large block of her time each school day.

Winston also used more personal and active management strategies. Recall, for example, that she periodically toured the building to check on such aspects of instruction in classrooms as "time-on-task." Moreover, Winston chaired all faculty meetings and attended most other meetings during which instruction was discussed. For example, time and again our field notes find Winston present at SIP meetings, where important instructional plans for the school were being formulated. She also tried to attend as many grade-level meetings for teachers as possible. Although her participation at these meetings was seldom directive, her enthusiastic presence symbolized her interest in instructional improvement and her commitment to having a well-managed instructional program. It also provided her an opportunity to share her views and experiences with teachers and to hear their views.

In addition to monitoring instruction and being present at planning meetings, Winston took an active managerial role in some areas of Roosevelt's instructional program. For example, she took responsibility for Roosevelt's in-service program, which she saw as the best way to improve her staff's teaching skills and enhance their ability to serve the children at the school. To facilitate an active in-service program at Roosevelt, Winston used information from the school's needs assessment to schedule workshops by district personnel, outside trainers, and teachers from Roosevelt. So important were these sessions to Winston that despite the district's lack of support, she modified the school schedule to allow for weekly in-service sessions each Tuesday afternoon. These sessions, which covered a broad range of topics, were well received by teachers, one of whom commented, "Our in-service is not in name alone. It's real in-service, very good staff development" (TI, 2/16/83, p. 7).

Another area in which Winston was extremely active was student grouping. For example, Winston's participation in an in-service program several years prior to our study had led her to to initiate a departmentalized reading program in her school. While this innovation had not been uniformly implemented throughout the school, many teachers used small groups for reading instruction, and some classroom teachers exchanged students for reading in order to minimize the number of reading groups in their classrooms.

More important, however, was Winston's assignment of students to classrooms, a function she performed throughout the year due to the high student transiency rate at Roosevelt and the crowded conditions at the school. In making assignments to classrooms, Winston did her best to ensure that each student was in a beneficial educational context. Thus, she assigned and reassigned students to classrooms in the bilingual program, not simply on the basis of test scores, but also on the basis of teacher recommendations about which students would derive the most benefit from such a program. She was also determined to create positive learning environments in the regular classrooms in the school, and she used her control over student assignments to further this goal. She was careful not to concentrate students with disciplinary problems in the same classrooms, and she attempted to match students' and teachers' personalities and learning styles. Above all, Winston was flexible. She moved students if she felt it would improve their performance, and when she created new classrooms during the school year, she did her best to consider the educational implications of her decisions. Recall, for example, that as late as April, Winston created a class for newly arrived Asian immigrants.

In the areas of in-service and student grouping, Winston acted on her own initiative. But in other areas of instructional management, Winston acted very much as a "team player" for the district office. One of these areas was the bilingual program. Emma Winston admitted that she had little expertise in the area of bilingual education; nevertheless, during her tenure as Roosevelt's principal, she had initiated and built a bilingual education program. Her efforts in this area were far from complete. For one thing, the program was not large enough to accommodate all of the Hispanic students at the school who could have benefited from it. Secondly, limited-English speaking Asian students were provided only with pullout ESL services.

Although Winston hoped to improve the situation, funding and personnel shortages constrained her efforts to expand the program. Recall, for example, how Winston struggled through a tangle of district red tape in order to obtain Asian bilingual instructional aides for her school. In addition, Winston was dependent on district resource personnel to help her and the staff improve this program. Neither she nor the school's project director had expertise in bilingualism. Unfortunately, the district office was unclear about its direction and goals in the area of bilingual education, and the result was that Roosevelt's bilingual teachers worked without administrative guidance to improve Roosevelt's program. Despite these difficulties, however, more bilingual classrooms had been added, new Spanish reading materials had been purchased, and important steps were being taken to give teachers better information in Spanish language skills.

Finally, Winston fully supported the district's emphasis on student mastery of basic skills in reading and math. In this area, Winston again acted as a "team player." The district's policies with respect to grade-level expectations and promotion were not only sometimes at odds with Winston's commitment to a balanced curriculum, but they also contradicted instructional practices developed by the Roosevelt staff. Nevertheless, Winston enacted district policies. She cut back on multicultural activities at the school in an attempt to place more emphasis on basic skills. Moreover, she worked hard to ensure that the district's grading policy was enforced at Roosevelt even though the school's staff felt that it contradicted their own grading policies. In this case, Winston used her considerable human relations skills as she talked to each teacher at the school in order to manage the conflict created by the new policy.

In the domain of basic skills, Winston went far beyond simple support for district policies. She initiated a number of activities designed to improve student performance on tests of basic skills. The standardized achievement test administered at the school had been changed in an attempt to align testing with the curriculum of the school, and Winston had encouraged teachers to teach students "test-taking skills." Winston was also beginning to explore with teachers the possibility of constructing criterion-referenced tests to measure students' attainment of district grade-level expectations.

In addition to these initiatives, Winston gave her full support to the school's compensatory education program. Repeatedly, our field records show Winston working closely with the school's project director. The congruence of the educational philosophies of these two individuals helped unify the school's compensatory education programs. Winston also worked closely with resource teachers. Recall, for example, Winston's work with the school's math resource teacher and her critique of this teacher's technique for grouping pullout students. With Winston's full support, the compensatory education program at Roosevelt had come to be viewed by all concerned as a valuable instructional resource that could be used to help students achieve basic instructional objectives.

The result of all these efforts was an instructional program adapted to Emma Winston's vision of a good school and to the realities of providing instruction to a population of educationally disadvantaged students from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. As a team player for the district, Winston had focused instruction in the school on basic grade-level expectations in reading and math, and through her pervasive presence at meetings and her monitoring of lesson plans and report cards, she sustained this focus. At the same time, the school's instructional program reflected much of Winston's goal to provide students with a well-rounded education. An active science program, field trips, and other multicultural and enrichment activities were offered to children. And teachers were provided with vigorous in-service training designed to help them better educate the children they served.

Conclusion

Our case study has described in great detail the organization and operation of work at Roosevelt Elementary School. We have characterized the school's setting as inner-city and described many of the complexities with which the school's principal coped: The population was heterogeneous, comprising Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and a few Whites; many students came from very poor families; parents of many children spoke no English; the student transiency rate was high; and student achievement was extremely low. In addition, Roosevelt was overcrowded, serving approximately 1,000 youngsters. Further, some of the children were not properly clothed and fed, and the school building had been subjected to vandalism. Adding to the difficulties of this situation was the Hawthorne District's mandate that each principal must ensure by the end of the school year that all students would achieve at the 50th percentile on the district's standardized test of basic skills. These were the organizational givens that Emma Winston attempted to balance and manage.

In many ways, Winston was ideally suited to this pursuit. She had many years of experience as an urban educator. She was also doggedly determined to downplay ethnic and racial differences and emphasize instead the common core of humanity shared by her students. In doing so, she hoped to provide Roosevelt's students with an education that would serve them well in their adult lives. Such an education, she believed, must be well rounded. It must provide children the opportunities to master basic skills and develop life-long interests. These interests would enable Roosevelt's students to continue learning and adapting to a society that Winston believed was changing rapidly.

Winston's routine activities were the vehicles through which she attempted to create a "family" of students, teachers, and parents at Roosevelt. The various members of this family would cooperate to accomplish the school's academic and social goals. This "family," however, was an idealized state toward which Winston worked indefatigably. Almost 50% of her activities were directed toward shaping a safe and caring environment at Roosevelt. She communicated with teachers, students, and parents to inform them of rules and policies and to assure them that Roosevelt operated in their best interests. In addition, 30% of Winston's activities, which included monitoring daily lesson plans and student achievement, were directed toward improving the school's instructional organization. In this very large elementary school, we found it quite remarkable that Winston read every child's report card, writing comments on many and using this activity as an opportunity to speak with teachers about their successes or difficulties with various students.

Lastly, Winston acted as a "team player." For example, she supported her district's drive to improve achievement scores even though this goal did not address the social aspects of education with which the principal was greatly concerned. Winston acknowledged the tension between her vision and the district's goal. Yet, she was able to reduce this tension by maintaining her overarching perspective while redoubling her efforts to improve student achievement. These efforts included supporting the school's compensatory programs and reminding teachers to focus on grade-level expectations and test-taking skills. The result of her activities was a school that had not yet realized Winston's vision of an inner-city, multiethnic school, but one that was struggling continually toward that end.

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